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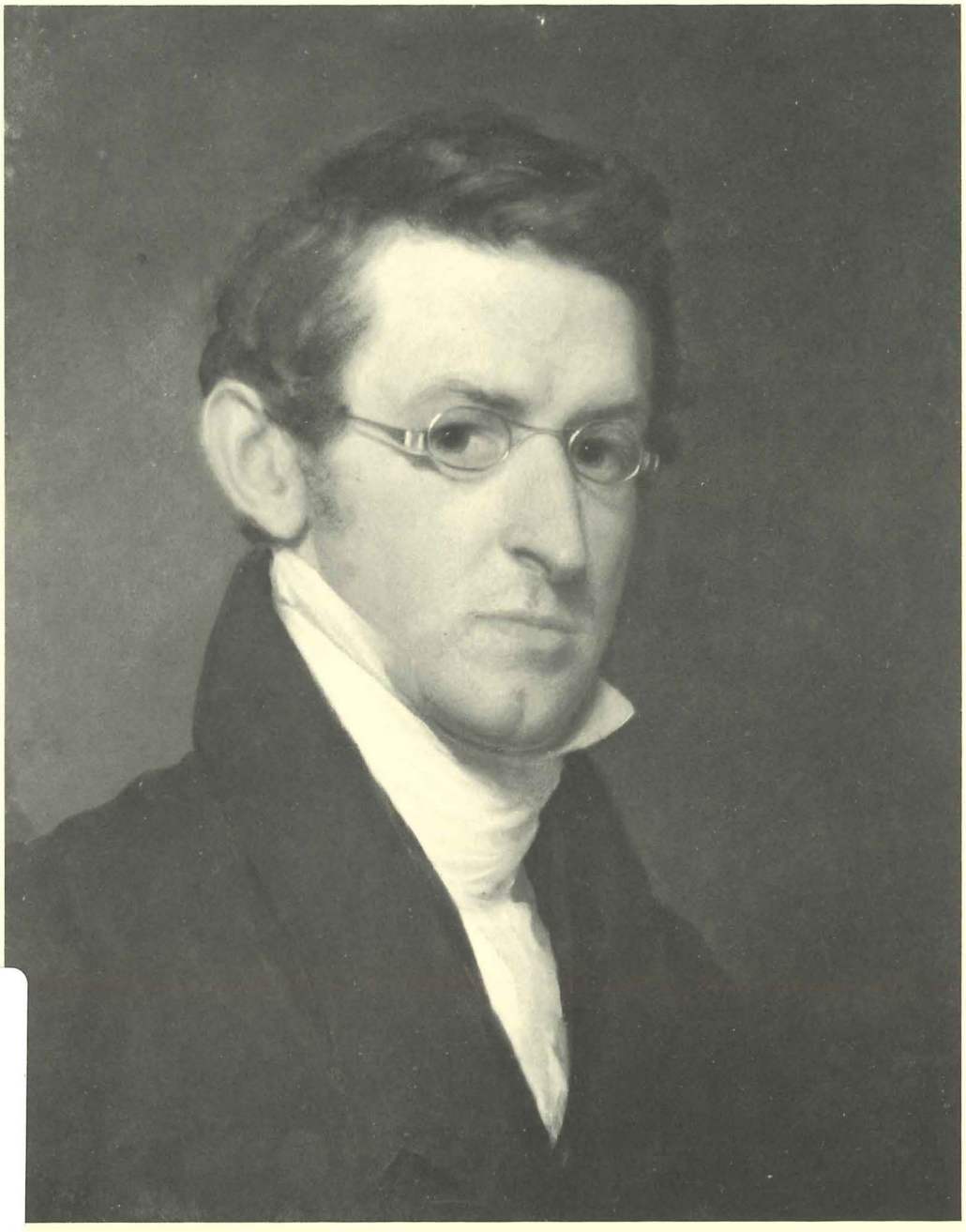
of The New Haven Colony Historical Society



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THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was founded in 1862 by a representative group of New Haven citizens. As stated in the Constitution adopted by the Society, revised in 1965:

"The object of the Society shall be the collection, preservation and publication of historical and genealogical matter relating to the early settlement and subsequent history, especially of New Haven and its vicinity, and incidentally of other portions of the United States."

The museum and library of the Society are open to the public. There is a fee of $2 to non-members for use of the library; the museum is open free of charge. In addition to the Whitney Avenue building, the Society owns the Pardee-Morris House at 325 Lighthouse Road, Morris Cove, New Haven. Built originally about the middle of the eighteenth century, it was burned during the British invasion in 1779. Rebuilt at once, it incorporates surviving portions of the older structure. The Pardee-Morris House is now restored and furnished appropriately and is open to the public during the summer months.

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Cover: Elizur Goodrich Smith, by Nathaniel Jocelyn. Cabinet portrait (painted on wood), signed and dated 1827, 14 5/8 × 18 1/8". Smith was twenty-five years old when the painting was done. (Collection of Mrs. A. Hooker Goodwin)

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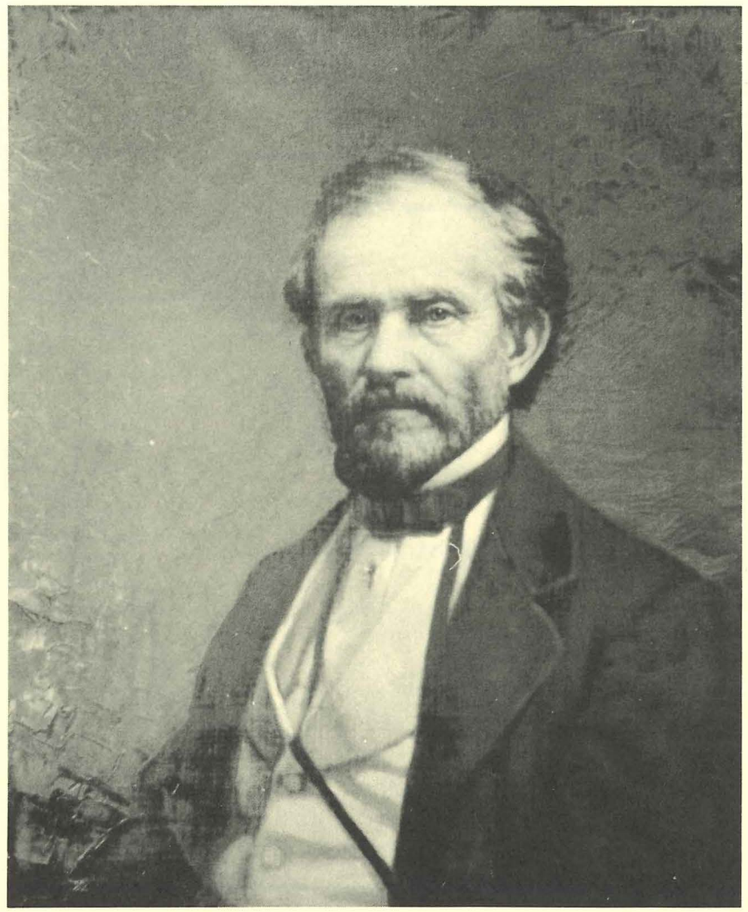


Portrait of Nathaniel Jocelyn by his pupil Harry Ives Thompson (1840-1906). Oil on canvas, 22 × 27″. (NHCHS collection, gift of the Jocelyn family)

Nathaniel Jocelyn: Puritan, Painter, Inventor

by Bernard Heinz

In 1935 the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford received by mail an unexpected gift from a man whom many then considered America's leading bibliophile, Charles E. Goodspeed. Just how or when the ''Yankee Bookseller,'' as he called himself, acquired this packet of loose pages he did not reveal. It appeared to be the unbound diary of Nathaniel Jocelyn, the New Haven-born portrait painter and engraver, and there were some additional writings in the same hand.

Although it was not the type of source material then being sought by major libraries or art dealers, Goodspeed was not about to destroy any hand-me-downs from the 1820s. As he must have done in many similar cases, he gave his find to what he considered an appropriate depository. It was a fortunate decision, for without this personal record it would be impossible to reconstruct the story of Jocelyn's efforts to become a portrait painter—or even to plot his life's story. Moreover, it provides a remarkable testimony to the craft of portrait painting as practiced in America at this period.

Jocelyn began keeping an unbound diary in December 1820, when he arrived in Savannah to try his luck as a professional portrait painter. He stopped monitoring his own progress when he left for home on the approach of summer, though there are a few entries made in New Haven in August. He resumed his efforts at reporting his daily activities on his return to Savannah at the first of the year 1822. The record becomes more fragmentary, complicated by Jocelyn's decision to transcribe what he considered notes into what he thought would be a more permanent record. (The notebooks to which he alludes are not to be found.)

The painter left for home in June 1821. There is a scrap of paper on which he describes an experiment with paints. This is marked with a July date but no year and was probably written in Philadelphia, where he stopped for many weeks en route. There were no more diary pages until 1826, when for a brief period in New Haven, Nathaniel Jocelyn was encouraged to concentrate all his efforts on portrait painting once again.

Along with the diary pages are Jocelyn's own summary of his efforts to learn the portrait painter's craft from childhood up, and some exposition by Jocelyn on his religious convictions. There are lists (incomplete) of the portraits he was asked to paint in Savannah.

This collection, donated by Goodspeed, was first used to advantage by the late Foster Wild Rice, the painter's great-grandson, whose ambition it was to write a definitive biography of the artist. Rice collected a wealth of additional source material, now also at the Connecticut Historical Society. He wrote several articles on Jocelyn's career which examined his contribution to the development of American painting and engraving. In 1966 Rice brought together a retrospective show of Jocelyn's portraits; first held at the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford, it was then moved to the New Haven Colony Historical Society, owner of many of Jocelyn's most important canvases. For this event Foster Rice wrote a valuable guide and biographical essay, published as the October 1966 *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin.*

Not all the diary pages were transcribed at that time or put into chronological order. It proved a tedious job, one which would not have been accomplished without the help of Peter Malia, of the Connecticut Historical Society, who has made a study of early-nineteenth-century orthography.

Most of the action in the diary pages takes place in Savannah at a time when that community was being rebuilt after a disastrous fire. For this reason Jocelyn's account has an additional historical interest. Its utility, however, was hampered because the pages are loose and, though Jocelyn usually gives the day and month, it is not always clear whether a particular recording is for 1821 or 1822. Through the assistance of Ms. Feay Shellman, Curator of Collections at the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences in Savannah, and the careful research by Savannah attorney and historian Gordon B. Smith, it has been possible to clarify what Jocelyn was writing about and when.

Evaluating Jocelyn's experimenting with oil paints, canvas, board, etc., as compared with his contemporaries, would not have been possible without an analysis of the diary pages by an art historian, Professor Clifford T. Chieffo of Georgetown University. Jocelyn's bouts of sickness coinciding with his inhaling dust from grinding paints, for example, would have been overlooked.

This study of Nathaniel Jocelyn could not have been accomplished without the cooperation of Christopher Bickford, Director of the Connecticut Historical Society, and his staff. It would not have been begun or carried to its fruition without the help and enthusiasm of Floyd Shumway, Director of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, and those who work with him to advance the writing and appreciation of history.

Hometown New Haven during the first half of the nineteenth century: to enterprising men such as Nathaniel Jocelyn, there seemingly could not be a more promising place to live than this small American city, the co-capital of Connecticut.

It was the Utopian community of Puritan founding, and no one could have demonstrated greater faith in it and its religion than Jocelyn. Throughout his long, productive life (1796-1881), he was as single-minded as a pilgrim in working towards the city's development and progress.

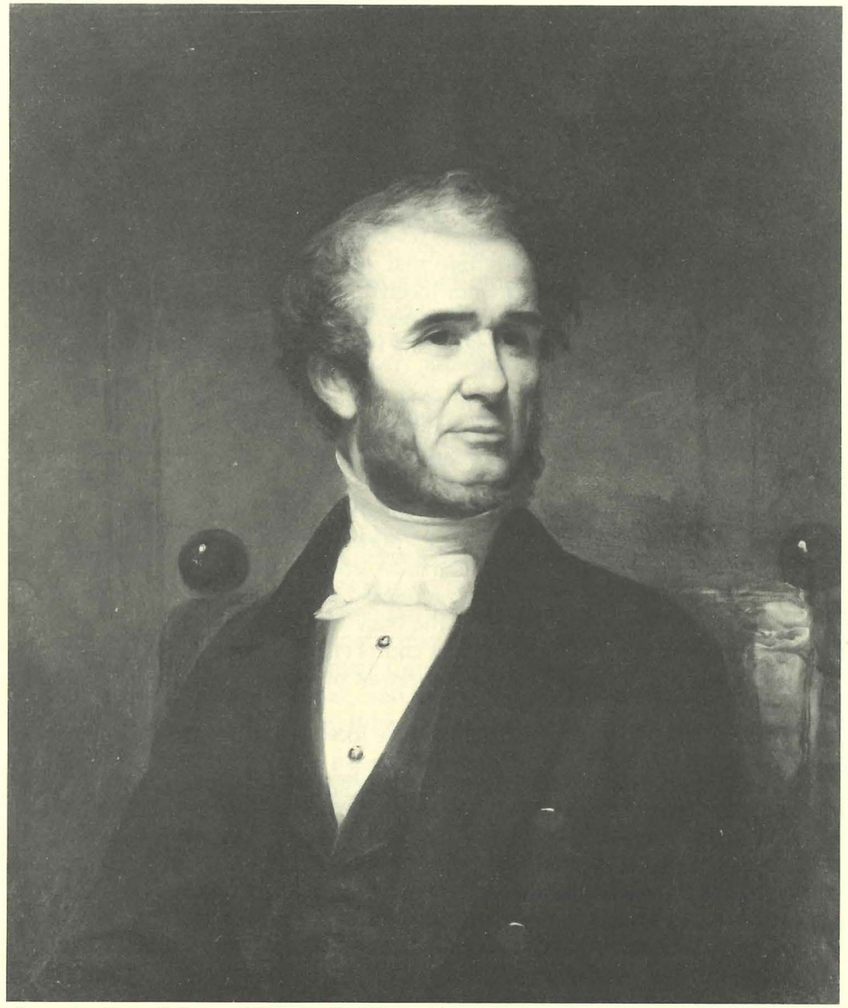
Until his studio was destroyed by fire in 1849, it was to Jocelyn more than any other artist that New Haven's influential citizens went to have themselves immortalized on board or canvas. He was skilled; equally importantly he was their friend or cousin or neighbor—or, perhaps, all three. As the years marched on, he became the teacher of student-artists whose studios became linked to his own. It has been suggested that this informal school inspired Augustus Russell Street, [1] who had taken lessons from Jocelyn, to found the Yale School of Art in 1864. Jocelyn, who retired from the engraving business shortly thereafter, was called on to play a major role in organizing the new gallery and school, a fitting finale to his artistic career. [2]

There was fire in the temperament of Nathaniel Jocelyn. He and his brother, Simeon, four years his junior, had an attraction for causes they considered righteous: religious revival; independence for Greece; and, most importantly, the anti-slavery fight in New Haven. It was in the course of the latter struggle that Jocelyn would be commissioned by Robert Purvis, first president of the Underground Railroad, to paint the two portraits for which he is best known, those of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, and Cinqué, leader of the *Amistad* captives. The painting of Cinqué was rendered primarily for use in dramatizing the plight of the unwilling guests of the New Haven jailhouse while their fate was being decided in the United States courts (1839-41). As such, it can be considered the first sympathetic political portrait of a black ever exhibited in this country.

No matter what their political feelings, the Jocelyn brothers never lost sight of what they considered their obligation: to make a living for their families and themselves. Nathaniel and Simeon, known as Smith, were principals in literally hundreds of real-estate transactions, often with an alarming lack of success, but one achievement has endured in their gift to New Haven of a portion of this land—Jocelyn Park.

The brothers started as engravers of banknotes, working under the firm name of N. & S.S. Jocelyn. They soon branched out into whatever field promised profit—maps and atlases, for example, in the 1820s. But it was in the banknote and stamp-engraving business that Nathaniel Jocelyn, who had a gift for organization, would receive national recognition. He is credited with having brought together in 1858 the seven firms which formed the American Bank Note Company, with headquarters in New York City, where by this time his business activity centered. [3] He commuted as early as the 1820s, staying in Manhattan during the week. But his home and his family always remained in New Haven.

Colorful as this testimony of Jocelyn's achievement may appear, it would invite little interest today had not Nathaniel written his self-portrait in the form



Augustus Russell Street (1791-1866). Oil on canvas, 25¼ × 30¼". Painted in New Haven prior to Street's departure for Europe in 1843. (Yale University Art Gallery, gift of Mrs. A.R.S. Foote)

of a diary. His account, penned mostly in Savannah, Georgia, from 1820 to 1822, tells the story of a young artist learning his trade by doing. It reveals the inner feelings of a devout, often worried, young husband separated from his wife and children. When he looked into the mirror, he saw an exile in Savannah. He constantly compared life there with what was going on in the center of his world—religiously speaking, at least—New Haven.

On other occasions—especially with the prospect of commissions—when he looked into that mirror, the Nathaniel he saw was a painter who admitted knowing less than he should about the use of oils. He was resolved to learn. Each undertaking became an experiment in the learning process, as well as a means of earning money. With the scrupulousness of a scientist, he recorded whatever data seemed the least bit extraordinary, though at times he was too discouraged or distracted to present a complete record of activities. Yet in no other diary or book is there such a detailed account of the problems of the portrait-painting business as practiced in the United States in the 1820s.[4] Choice of paints; how to grind them; how to apply them; what brushes, boards and color combinations to use; whose palette arrangement proved most satisfactory; how much one should charge—every aspect of the portrait painter's profession was jotted down as Jocelyn discovered it.

Jocelyn's aim was to make a living utilizing the best of his talents, as the Scriptures stipulate. If he succeeded, according to the tradition of his Puritan faith, he would know that he had obtained a measure of God's grace. It was a point of view that required continuous attention to religious principles and practices, an effort Jocelyn pursued. (He was to serve as deacon of the North Church on the Green in New Haven for more than forty years.)

In 1820, apprehensive as he was about his ability to become a successful portrait painter, he felt the need to monitor his attempt to live the proper Christian life.[5] His diary pages relate the self-torture of his own "pilgrim's progress." His obligation extended into helping others to seek God's grace through living a proper life—as outlined, of course, by the divines of New Haven. In his evangelical effort, he did not always meet with success, and he was troubled by his failures. He was an engaging salesman, however, and few took offense.

Most people born in New Haven in 1796, as Jocelyn was, and who believed that they had a role to play in this Utopia, had the same confidence in the possibility of obtaining God's grace as he did. They would succeed and prosper, they thought, if they worked hard and took advantage of opportunities when they were presented. There had been a discouraging period: the American Revolution had not automatically created prosperity as well as freedom from England. (And "prosperity," it must be kept in mind, was a measure of God's grace.) In spite of the documentary magic through which New Haven had become a city twelve years earlier (in 1784), and in spite of well publicized elm-tree planting, the community had not advanced at a rate of growth faster than that experienced by any other comparable community on the American seaboard.

Nonetheless, men of enterprise were to change the course of events in New Haven. During the summer of 1795, the learned, aging president of Yale, Ezra Stiles, died. His successor, Timothy Dwight, would realize that Yale, with the other educational institutions it attracted, was, as it still is today, New Haven's principal industry. He would seek to make Yale into the superior institution of the new age of science and the arts which he anticipated. But change came slowly; not until 1801 was he in a position to select three new professors, including the first professor of chemistry. These men would revise the courses in the curriculum. Their influence on the community as a whole, as well as on education in general, would be profound.

Dwight was aided and encouraged by New Haven's leading citizen, Senator James Hillhouse, known as ''The Patriot.'' Hillhouse was more than just the city's leading landowner and ablest politician; he had that physical attractiveness which made him a natural leader. His pursuit of his vision of what New Haven could be would transform the boyhood world of Nathaniel Jocelyn.

Hillhouse looked at his objective in life as ''The Patriot'' in very much the same way as Nathaniel Jocelyn would aim to make himself into ''The Portrait Painter.'' It was from James Hillhouse, who felt that he ought to lead the community in encouraging talent, that Jocelyn received his first oil-painting commission. In the summer of 1820 Jocelyn completed this great man's portrait. It was a copy or interpretation of one done earlier by Vanderlyn.[6]

Another gifted man who looked at the world from the same perspective as did Timothy Dwight and James Hillhouse was a Yale contemporary, Noah Webster. The effect of his moving to New Haven in 1798 from New York City can best be compared in its impact with that on the inhabitants of the small city of Avignon, France, when the Pope fled there from Rome. Webster was already acknowledged as the molder of the American language. By 1798, almost every American boy and girl who had attended school had confronted Webster's speller. Many of those who had progressed to a study of grammar had been taught from Webster's book. He was accustomed to speak out on every political or moral issue, being sure that much of what he had to say appeared in pamphlet or book form. He owned a leading newspaper in New York City, *The American Minerva.* Now this leading citizen was at work on a dictionary, the first to be produced in the United States.

Webster was by education and temperament a small-community man. Like many American intellectuals, he professed a revolt from the rush of the big city—in this case, New York.[7] If he wished to prove anything, it was that the little city of New Haven offered as many profound cultural advantages for intellectuals as did New York City. Further, in New Haven one was not separated from the other classes of society. Noah Webster knew everyone, and everyone knew him. Nathaniel Jocelyn's father, who had a reputation for being a walking encyclopedia, undoubtedly knew Webster. Both were interested in music—mostly hymns. (Webster became head of the music committee of the ''Old Light'' First Society, while Simeon belonged to the ''New Light'' church.)

Young Nathaniel would grow into sharing Noah Webster's preference for New Haven as opposed to the metropolis of New York City. Though socially disadvantaged in not having a Yale education, Nathaniel Jocelyn still met and conversed with people like the Websters at New Haven public gatherings without the least hesitation. Still, even though he had the same sort of ancestors as did the Websters, he would not anticipate being invited to tea. Perhaps, if he did achieve his goal of becoming successful, preferably as a portrait painter, it would be perceived that he was in a state of grace and should be recognized.[8] The nod of approval eventually did come: he was not thirty years old when he received his first invitation from James A. Hillhouse, the poet and son-in-law of the sometime mayor of New York City.[9] Such rewards made the New Haven scene palatable to the strivers.

More immediate to the prospering of the Jocelin[10] family in New Haven was another Yale graduate of exceptional ability, Eli Whitney. By 1798 he had set up a factory on the Mill River for the manufacture of guns. Whitney designed many of his machines on the spot as necessity dictated. He became one of the first American manufacturers to see the advantage of producing interchangeable parts. Sometime between 1798 and 1813, he became involved in the clock-manufacturing efforts of Simeon Jocelin, who also performed clock and watch repair.

In 1813 the principals in this firm were Simeon, an old father, age sixty-seven, and his young apprentice son Nathaniel, seventeen. Among other skills Simeon had taught the lad was engraving, at which the son showed remarkable talent. Eli Whitney was sufficiently impressed to write a business associate in Philadelphia, George Fairman: ''There is a young man here by the name of Nath. Jocelin who is very solicitous to become an apprentice of yours to learn the art of engraving.''

Whitney assured Fairman that ''he is of a reputable family'' with no known ''viscous [*sic*] habits or inclinations. His father is an ingenious watch maker—self taught and uncommonly neat and accurate in his work.'' As for the son, Whitney observed that he ''is between 17-18 years of age, has been employed with his father in repairing watches. Is from a child a good mechanic....'' And Whitney adds, ''He has lately made some small attempts at engraving.''[11]

Whether George Fairman took Nathaniel as an apprentice is not known. The letter proved to be the introduction at least to a business connection between Jocelyn and the Fairman firm in the years to come.

Whitney would write another letter in young Jocelyn's behalf two years later, this to Abraham Brewster of Hartford.[12] This would lead to a short-lived engraving partnership but a long-term friendship with the engraver-painter Moseley Danforth. Nathaniel Jocelyn would stay with Danforth when he studied in England in the fall and winter of 1829; later both men would be partners in the American Bank Note Company.

That Eli Whitney's involvement with Nathaniel Jocelyn went beyond writing letters of recommendation becomes clear when one examines the will of Simeon,

the father, and the settlement of debt owed to Whitney. Whitney permitted the widow to stay in her residence as long as she lived, an accommodation which he need not have made.[13] No older man, excepting his father, had done more to mold Nathaniel Jocelyn's career than Whitney. Did Nathaniel see in Whitney the kind of man he would like to be?

When Eli Whitney died in 1825, Professor Benjamin Silliman had this appraisal: "With all his contemplative ingenuity and habitual attention to mechanical details Mr. Whitney did not allow his mind to be narrowed to a limited horizon. His views of men and things were on the most enlarged scale. The interests of mankind and especially of his native country as connected with government, liberty, order, science, arts, literature, morals and religion were familiar to his mind and he delighted in conversing with men of similar character...."[14]

Nathaniel Jocelyn's diary pages chronicle a young man's effort to prevent his mind from being narrowed to a limited horizon, this in spite of his piety.[15] Like Whitney, he had a self-assurance—a Yankee self-assurance—in his belief that New Haven need not fear the competition of ideas from afar and that its citizens had the inventive instinct to meet any such challenges.

One can imagine the vigorous, extroverted Eli Whitney bursting into the Jocelin clock establishment one day and pushing his way past the proprietor Simeon in order to peer over the shoulder of Nathaniel. He would observe the young man's skill. While so doing, perhaps Eli Whitney tells about the cotton gin which has brought him fame without fortune, or discusses some new machine which he is contriving. When the great man leaves, the father, credited with having invented a noiseless movement for grandfather clocks, discusses with his son the prospect of success through obtaining a patent for a new invention.[16] Work hours were long and profit margins thin for Yankee artisan-entrepreneurs in the early 1800s. Obtaining a patent for a successful invention was a goal to be sought.

Another prospect, ever present, which stirred ambition in young apprentices like Nathaniel was the seaport activity taking place just a few blocks from the Wooster Street residence where he was born. His cousin William was already at sea and by 1820 was in command of the *Belvidere*, a ship which made regular trips between Savannah, Georgia, and the West Indies.[17] Sometimes it called at New Haven.

In 1810, when Jocelyn was fourteen, there was added excitement in the harbor scene: a major improvement was underway. The Long Wharf was being extended 1,500 feet, so that it reached to the deep-water channel and goods could be loaded directly into warehouses and wagons. As the job of making it 3,843 feet in length was being completed, work on new warehouses and other facilities to service this improvement already was underway. The excitement engendered by this building activity on the waterfront spilled over. There had been talk about improving the Green. New, larger, more modern church buildings were beginning to be erected in leading New England towns and cities. An overall improvement plan for the New Haven Green seems to have been devised, one on which

city officials, the proprietors of the Green and church leaders were in agreement, though apparently no one ever recorded what it was. By 1812 construction had begun on three new church buildings in a row on the Green.

To a young man like Nathaniel, then sixteen, who may never have been as far from home as Hartford, the creation before his very eyes of something so much grander than he had ever before seen must have awakened a boundless sense of pride in his city and its leaders. Nothing so ambitious had ever been attempted in New England. Why, the steeple of the First Society building (which today is called Center Church) rises to a height of 198 feet, taller than that of the First Baptist Church of Providence, which stands at 185 feet! No one in New Haven had heard of a taller spire in all of New England.

Ithiel Town (1784-1844), the builder of two of these churches—Center and the stone, neo-gothic, Trinity Episcopal—was a man of considerable importance. Almost from the moment he arrived in New Haven in 1810, his input on the local scene was impressive. He had learned the craft of building and the rudiments of architecture from the acknowledged solon of the trade, Asher Benjamin of Boston. He had a sense of taste, an appreciation of line, and he knew how to encourage men to work for him. Like the young Nathaniel, he was, if not befriended, certainly aided by Eli Whitney. It was at Whitney's factory site at the Mill River that Town erected in 1819 the model of the truss bridge, the royalties from which invention were to make Town a rich man.[18] Like Jocelyn, also, Town had the ancestry necessary to be considered an upper-class New Englander, and like Jocelyn, it appears, he always felt disadvantaged in not having a college education. Both men would be eager to show that they were cultivated, a desire in the fulfillment of which the community was to benefit.

When did they become friends? Since both were sponsored by Eli Whitney, they must have known one another for some time. Jocelyn's brother Smith engraved the picture of the truss bridge for Benjamin Silliman's *American Journal of Science* and for the book on the truss bridge published by S. Converse of New Haven in 1821. It is doubtful that Smith would have presented an engraving for publication without Nathaniel's prior inspection, since the brothers customarily worked as a team. In 1826 Nathaniel Jocelyn painted the portraits of Ithiel Town and his daughter, Etha. Both men would be part of the society of artists and community leaders whom the poet James A. Hillhouse would gather around him every summer after his marriage to Cornelia Lawrence on November 23,1822. This marriage would have great impact on the future of New Haven. Her father was not only an alderman and a mayor of New York City, but he was president of the New York branch of the Bank of the United States. Through his intercession and money, the stalled canal project linking the port of New Haven with Northampton on the Connecticut River really was begun.[19] As part of the marriage arrangement, James A. Hillhouse, the bridegroom, was given his quarter-share of Hillhouse land in New Haven, and the development of Hillhouse Avenue also became a reality.[20]

Nathaniel Jocelyn, too, had made an advantageous marriage—earlier, on July 5, 1818, when he was twenty-two. His bride, Sarah Atwater Plant, was only eighteen. They would make their home with her father, Captain Samuel Plant, a widower. She would never live anywhere but at the York Street property, and for her a journey as far away as Fairfield was a major event. The Atwater clan, of which she was a member, was a large one in New Haven; many of its prosperous members would sit for portraits by Nathaniel Jocelyn once he determined to rent a painting room.

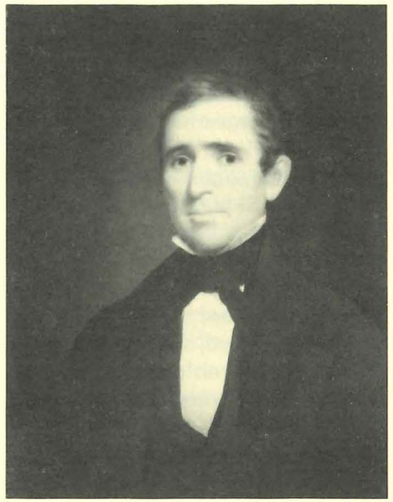
It was Nathaniel, the portrait painter, who would become part of the ''Hillhouse Quarter'' society.[21] But this might never have taken place had it not been for the arrival in New Haven of James A. Hillhouse's college friend and onetime companion in Boston, Samuel F.B. Morse, or Finley, as everyone called him. Finley was America's leading young portrait painter. The Morse family, headed by Finley's famous father, the Reverend Jedidiah, the geographer, had moved to New Haven. They had rented a house at the corner of what is now Whitney Avenue and Trumbull Street from the Hillhouses, and soon Nathaniel was to meet Finley.

The acquaintance grew into friendship as Nathaniel's resolution firmed. Once and for all he would attempt to become a portrait painter, employing oils. This he considered to be the most prestigious of professions. In the past he had discussed this dream with his distant relative John Trumbull, honored both at home and abroad as being, in the words of Professor Benjamin Silliman, ''the first historical painter of this country.'' Trumbull had praised Nathaniel's artistic gift, as well as the talent of his brother Smith. However, he had never said to Nathaniel that he really should put all his energies to work into becoming a portrait painter, regardless of the expense and the heartbreak this might entail.

Nathaniel sought such a reassurance, a catalyst. What was there about the debut of Finley Morse in New Haven in June 1820 which so firmed the eager Nathaniel's resolution? His diary pages are, in effect, testimony to his decision to put portrait painting in oils before anything else. One might also ask why it was that as the years progressed, both men gave up portrait painting as a full-time profession.

''Finley's [painting] room is progressing very well. It will cost him at least 400 Dollars but he could do nothing without it which makes it absolutely necessary,'' wrote Elizabeth S. Morse, the painter's mother, reporting to her husband, Jedidiah, on June 11, 1820.[22]

The room itself, adjacent to the oversize ''cottage'' which the Morse family in exile from Charlestown, Massachusetts, was renting from the Hillhouses, was the only improvement that the newcomers to New Haven made to the dwelling. On June 25, Finley wrote to his father: ''My painting room will be entirely completed I hope tomorrow, so that I hope to begin to paint with all my *might* this week. My carpenter has done it faithfully, the cost will be a little over 400 dollars,



Charles Goodyear (1800-60). Oil on canvas, 20¾ × 27″. The young inventor was painted in New Haven. (NHCHS collection, gift of Charles H. Townshend)

perhaps by 10 dollars, all to be paid in December, that is including some necessary apparatus for my painting, such as an easel, table, frames, etc. The room is very commodious and entirely to my mind. One of the little rooms I think will make Edward [his younger brother, who was traveling with his father] an excellent study. He shall have it for that purpose if he wishes.''[23]

There had never before been such a ''painting room'' in New Haven. For an eager young man like Nathaniel Jocelyn, it was like seeing his dream come true. The curious, of course, soon found reason to walk by the Morses' home in order to observe for themselves this remarkable phenomenon. Young Jocelyn was vitally interested. He and Smith were then working together as the firm of N. and S.S. Jocelyn, engravers.[24] One of their clients was Professor Benjamin Silliman, closest neighbor to the Morses, for whom they were engraving the illustrations for Silliman's travel book *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec in the Autumn of 1819.* Silliman knew that Nathaniel Jocelyn wanted to be a portrait painter rather than an engraver, even though he was more proficient in this craft than his brother. If Silliman did not actually introduce Nathaniel to Finley, he certainly must have been pleased that a friendship between them was quick to mature.

One can imagine young Nathaniel's reaction when he discovered that the work on which Finley was progressing with all his ''might'' was the portrait of the President of the United States of America, James Monroe. Finley had stopped in Washington on his way back from Charleston, South Carolina, where he had

spent a third season painting portraits. The president had sat for him as many times as was necessary, and he and Mrs. Monroe had liked the preliminary sketches and painting. They had told Finley that they thought it better than any other of the president. [25]

Nathaniel must have asked himself, ''To what greater heights could a portrait painter rise?'' To Nathaniel Jocelyn, Finley Morse, age twenty-nine—not quite five years his senior—was at the pinnacle of his profession. Morse, who left Boston to study in England in 1811, had been painting ever since...almost ten years.

As his diary, begun in January 1821, shows, Jocelyn used ''five years...ten years'' as a measure of his own success: ''I propose by diligent practice and unwearied study, the attainment of a reputation as a portrait painter in 5 years!'' He was confident that he could catch up: ''Future particular study, and as may well be supposed, the observation of ten years devotedly bent on finally reaching the top has given me promiscious [*sic*] knowledge which when attested, and methodism by constant study and practice, ought to make my proficiency rapid and certain.'' [26]

Jocelyn, longing, dreaming of his own rise in the world to the profession of portrait painter, had little appreciation of the plight of the Morse family. The Morses were far from satisfied with the dwelling they were renting. It could not compare to the commodious parsonage which the elder Morses had been forced to quit when the Reverend Jedidiah Morse was ousted as minister of the First Church in Charlestown, Massachusetts, because of his unwillingness to accommodate the Unitarian views of some of its members. The house had its problems. Its previous occupants, Professor James Luce Kingsley and his wife, disliked the flooding in wet weather and had been quick to build a house of their own on Temple Street. Mrs. Morse, in her letter of June 1, 1820 to her husband and her son, who were on a trip west to survey the plight of the American Indian for the federal government, described the situation: ''No letter from anyone. The distance we live from the seat of business makes it truly troublesome (the post office is a long walk away) and no outdoor convenience of shed or woodhouse [privy]. Our girls are almost sick of New Haven and fret and worry if they can't have everything as formally.'' [27]

What did a young Jocelyn know about the ''plight'' of such people as the Morses and Hillhouses? It was not just the lack of a minister's salary which was causing the Morses a financial problem—Jedidiah was being paid for the survey. He was involved in the printing and sale of his geographies and other books and managed to owe too many people. After two successful wintertime painting seasons in Charleston, South Carolina, Finley had only moderate success the third time around, even though the President had sat for him in Washington. For economy, the elder Morses, Finley, his wife and two children, and his two brothers, still single and without permanent employment, lived in the single household. Likewise, James Hillhouse and his wife were having what was for them hard times. Their elder son, James A., the poet, whom they had pushed into the hard-

ware business, was losing $10,000 in the effort—an astronomical sum for the times; it represented most of the Hillhouse ready capital. [28] As James A.'s advantageous marriage with its promise of financial relief was not yet envisaged, the Hillhouses were relieved to have the rent money from the Morses, no matter how modest. Still, in spite of these setbacks, the Morses and the Hillhouses continued to live in the style that was expected of leaders of the community.

To these people, as he did to Eli Whitney and Professor Benjamin Silliman, Nathaniel Jocelyn would always maintain a respectful posture. He was an agreeable person, ready to serve any need they might have, knowing full well that only through them could he and his brother find the way to economic advancement. As the correspondence with the Morses during the 1820s reveals, if Mr. Jocelyn was going to New York, Mr. Jocelyn would be glad to take a letter. If Mr. Jocelyn were coming from New York, he would be glad to take a package back to New Haven. When the printed guides to Morse's picture of the Hall of Congress (House of Representatives in session) were to be shipped to Boston, it was N. & S.S. Jocelyn who did the job. It also followed that through the Morses N. & S.S. Jocelyn, engravers of banknotes, expanded into the map business, following Nathaniel's return from Savannah in the fall of 1822. [29]

It seems apparent from the diary pages that the Jocelyn-Morse association began somehow in Finley's new painting room. Nathaniel must have been painting right alongside Finley. How else could Nathaniel have learned so much in such a short time of Morse's technique and of the man who taught him—Allston—and the man whose prestige he sought to equal—Stuart? But on what basis were they working? Whatever their arrangement, knowing the Puritan work ethic which regulated these two men's lives, one can be sure it was not solely for companionship. [30]

Nathaniel had an uncanny talent for sketching accurately; his first efforts at engraving were professional in quality, and he had managed a few oil paintings. He was, however, largely self-taught. So, when he was nineteen, he decided that he ought to go to England to study.

The logical person to consult was a distant cousin or connection of Jocelyn's mother: the eminent artist Colonel John Trumbull. Trumbull, who had studied under Benjamin West, and who had lived abroad for years, had more experience in the world than he cared to recount. He had married an English woman of questionable background. He was also well aware of New Haven attitudes and New Haven ways. He did not fault young Nathaniel's gift; rather, he questioned what effect London might have on someone who had never lived outside the religion-oriented New Haven community. Nathaniel gave up the idea, at least for the moment. He would try and learn about painting at home on his own, an alternative Trumbull thought possible. [31]

Finley, at the same age, had had an opportunity to study abroad under circumstances which safeguarded his morals. Friends of the Reverend Jedidiah Morse and his wife—artist George Washington Allston and his bride, Mary Channing,

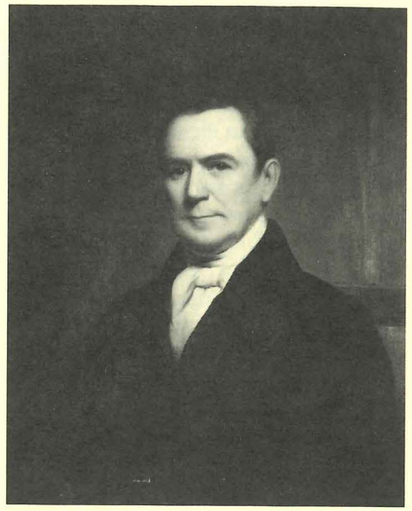
sister of the minister of the Federal Street Church in Boston, William Ellery Channing—were about to sail for England, where they intended to live. Morse would be Allston's pupil under his watchful eye; through Allston he would be able to study under the elderly Benjamin West and other leading painters. Finley's mother, Elizabeth Salisbury Morse, was the daughter of one of Boston's most successful merchants. The Morses could thus afford the required thousand dollars better than the Jocelyns.

Nathaniel Jocelyn's diary shows that he felt compelled to compare his own progress versus Finley's, though the latter may have been unaware of this inclination. If Nathaniel had not thought in these terms himself, his family would surely have pointed his nose in this direction. It was a comparison which his religion fostered—the race for God's grace, demonstrated by success. If the formidable Puritan religion of the self-chosen saints had an inbuilt moral weakness, unexpected but undeniable, it was that it fostered such rivalries in pursuit of the much-desired state of grace.

If Nathaniel Jocelyn ever fell victim to any temptation during his life, it was not sloth! He was so busy pushing ahead that it is difficult to chart each step in this pilgrim's progress. In 1815, the year of his aborted trip to study abroad, he engraved his first banknote, for the Derby Bank of Derby, Connecticut. The proof copy of this is still intact.[32] Banknote engraving would be a bread-and-butter means of employment throughout his life, especially valuable when other efforts failed. In 1815, through the intercession of Eli Whitney, who had earlier introduced him to George Fairman of Philadelphia, Jocelyn formed a connection with Abraham Brewster of Hartford. Through this association, he became a partner in the short-lived Hartford Graphic Bank Note Company. Jocelyn then decided to center his activities in his hometown. By 1818 he had established with his brother Smith the N. & S.S. Jocelyn company in New Haven. This would be an ongoing enterprise, even when Nathaniel was in Savannah for two seasons painting portraits.

We do know what Jocelyn looked like when he was introduced to Morse; statistics provided by his 1841 passport reveal that he was five feet, eight inches tall, with light brown hair, blue eyes and a slight frame.[33] A more important source is Jocelyn's miniature portrait, a watercolor on ivory, the work of George Munger in 1817, when Jocelyn was twenty-one.[34] Munger (from whom Jocelyn received instruction in miniature painting) presents in profile an even-featured young man of pleasing aspect, though a tenseness is apparent behind the smile. An account, published years later, describing Jocelyn at this age says he was unbelievably handsome. Munger's picture would indicate that this is an overstatement. The miniature does reveal fastidiousness: Jocelyn's shirt and cravat are in the best of fashion, as is his waistcoat. He looks self-assured. The Nathaniel Jocelyn Finley Morse met was not run-of-the-mill!

What sort of person was the Samuel Finley Breese Morse to whom Jocelyn was introduced? His self-portrait in oil, though completed some years earlier, presents



John William Fitch (1813-61). Oil on canvas, 26 × 31". Painted about the time of his marriage to Jane Louisa Trowbridge in 1843. She was the daughter of Harriet Hayes Trowbridge, pictured on page 23. (NHCHS collection, gift of Mrs. Brigitte Cirla)

a person of vitality with a sensuous quality which Jocelyn could never match—a physical presence of which one could not but be aware. Such individuality had to be expressed—it was central to his art. He must paint what he felt. He saw people in relationships with pets, objects, one another—he must paint a little girl holding her kitten. If he was willing to please a vain woman and alter the color of a guitar which she held, it was undoubtedly with the knowledge that she scarcely knew how to play the instrument. But he would not change a portrait to please a sitter when the person was a public figure; he felt that such a correction would present the person as what he was not. Morse's portrait of his friend Professor Benjamin Silliman is masterful; one sees in it the pride Silliman had in his lecturing. Silliman was unhappy about this and sent Jocelyn to Morse asking that Morse revise the painting. He refused.[36]

Nathaniel Jocelyn, on the other hand, wished to please his customers. His diary shows that his interest in portrait painting centered on learning how to produce the effects he desired with oils. Although his two first-known miniatures, watercolors on ivory of the Bacon brothers (1819), show an expertise hard to surpass, this did not satisfy the artist. For Jocelyn, the use of oil paints was the challenge.

His intellectual quest was to find out how other painters employed oils—not only Morse, but Morse's teachers. In a sense, he would appropriate Allston and Stuart, speaking of them as his own teachers, seeking them out and learning from them whatever they were willing to tell him.

This unrelenting drive for self-improvement was the way of the virtuous Yankee; inventiveness was his most singular attribute. One who could invent, who could do something more skillfully, was to be admired. When Nathaniel walked into

Finley's painting room and observed the famous artist at work, at the pinnacle of success, he also recognized that he was in the company of an inventor of promise, one about whom he had read.

In the first issue of Professor Benjamin Silliman's *American Journal of Science* (1818), there is an illustration and description of a fire-engine pump which Finley, with the help of his next brother, Sidney, had developed. Though they had not been able to market it, it was a well conceived patent. Soon he would borrow Professor Silliman's laboratory for experiments on a marble-cutting machine.[37] Invention would always be as inviting to Finley as painting.

Inventing was a New Haven ''disease.'' Nathaniel's brother, Smith, was at that very moment working on an improved design for pruning shears. He would exhibit them at the Agricultural and Manufacturing Show and Fair for New Haven County, October 18, 1820, and would win for himself a premium award.[38] Nathaniel, for the moment, was concentrating his inventive instincts on the grinding, combining and drying of oil paints. Though his diary shows that his experiments were haphazard and unscientific by today's standards, he was persistent in his attempt to develop a combination of colors that would yield a pleasing skin tone. (Apparently no one had suggested to him that the new science of chemistry, which Professor Silliman had been teaching at Yale since 1804, could have any relevance to the mixing, grinding and use of oil paints.)

On July 11, probably 1822, Jocelyn noted: ''Tried some experiments with Vermillion, Indian Red & Roman Oker by laying it on my face, lips & hands. Roman Oker—Vermillion will not match flesh, it is too bright and made a spot when touched on my lips.''[39] In this way, Jocelyn was learning about the use of paints, though, as Professor Clifford Chieffo of Georgetown University points out, he was applying what could have been a deadly poison.[40]

Nathaniel assuredly learned with the advent of the Morses how Finley had gone about his Charleston, South Carolina venture. He had contacted his relatives there, Dr. James Finley and family. He had taken his attractive wife along the year of their marriage. In that season, his second (1818-19), he was said to have cleared over $9,000—a fortune! He was less successful the next year when he went to Charleston alone. His wife, who now had children to care for, stayed with his parents in the parsonage in Charlestown, Massachusetts.[41]

Similarly, Nathaniel Jocelyn's mother had a brother, Samuel Smith, who was in business in Savannah and with whom he could live.[42] Sarah Plant Jocelyn, though pregnant and with a small child in tow, agreed to accompany her husband, though she never actually set forth. Nathaniel departed at the end of November, about the same time that Morse always left for Charlestown.

Savannah was a prospering port because of cotton, the production of which had rapidly increased since Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793. Laid out in 1733 by General James Oglethorpe, Savannah was distinguished by broad streets and handsome squares. A disastrous fire had swept through the city in

1820, and when Jocelyn arrived, there was a building boom in progress. Though the city had nothing to equal the three churches in a row on the New Haven Green, it did have private residences, the magnificence of which surpassed anything in Connecticut.[43]

Both small cities had a population of under 10,000, New Haven probably being the larger. Savannah was the center of activity for a wide area, an inviting place for people of means to live and shop. But its social whirl and wealth did not yet match those of Charleston, South Carolina, where Finley Morse went each season—nor did the prices paid for paintings. Savannah was rather the port of the future. In 1819 the historic voyage of the steamship *Savannah* from Savannah to Liverpool drew worldwide attention to the community, and consequently brought many bright persons seeking to improve their fortunes.[44]

The Nathaniel Jocelyn who set forth in 1820 was not the equal of Finley Morse as a portrait painter, but his diary shows that he was learning on the job. Morse, intrinsically more imaginative, had also studied in England. A Yale graduate, he mixed well in genteel society, of which he was considered a member. Nathaniel Jocelyn had less impressive credentials: he was more comfortable with people of nonconformist religious identification; and, where Morse could command $600 or more for a three-quarter or full-length oil portrait, Jocelyn would have to be content painting smaller pictures for which he could not anticipate an average return of more than $30 to $50 each.

Whether or not Jocelyn weighed all these factors before departing, we do not know. He set sail for Savannah on the sloop *Adeline* on November 28.[45] The vessel had been advertised as having ''elegant accommodations'' by its owners, Laban Smith, Kidston & Fenn. Jocelyn painted Captain Smith's portrait in oil on copper, although it has not been ascertained if it was in some way connected with the price of the passage. Laban Smith's mother was an Atwater and thus was a relative of Sarah Jocelyn.[32]

Left at the pier was Smith Jocelyn, age twenty, expected to carry on for N. & S.S. Jocelyn. He had just received a pat on the back from Professor Silliman in Silliman and Daniel Wadsworth's book *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec:* ''The engraver, Mr. S.S. Jocelyn, of New Haven, a young man of twenty, almost entirely self-taught, evinces talents deserving of encouragement.'' Like his brother Nathaniel, he too was a man of ambition. But in spite of Professor Silliman's commendation, he would not continue to seek recognition as an engraver. Increasingly he portrayed himself as a minister. Tall and lanky, he soon discovered that he had a flair for public speaking. He was pious, church-oriented, and a favorite of the Reverend Mr. Merwin, pastor of the North Church on the Green, to which all the Jocelyns belonged.

This church was ''New Light'' in its inception, more evangelical than the First Church. One can appreciate its appeal to young people such as Nathaniel and Smith, who would have liked to have had a college education and could not afford it. The Sunday sermons were for them a substitute, which they believed

prepared them for self-instruction and even more importantly for going out into the world beyond the parameters of utopian New Haven.

Smith would soon become a leader among the young people, traveling from church to church in a revivalist effort which would flower while Nathaniel was in Savannah.[46] While the older brother would relish all the details and would attempt to help the cause of true religion in Savannah, he never would set his cap on becoming a minister, as did Smith.

Nathaniel's reaching out was more dramatic. As the *Adeline* sailed with the tide out of New Haven Harbor, his self-testing began. Besides the Bible, he had with him for Sunday reading John Mason's *Treaste on Self-Knowledge*, in which, as his diary pages, show, he gave himself regular reading assignments.[47] And most likely he had with him the most recent copy of the *Christian Spectator*, a magazine started the previous year by President Jeremiah Day of Yale as a companion publication to Professor Silliman's *American Journal of Science*. Perhaps Jocelyn also had with him a copy of the *Journal*. Among the triumphs he lists in his diary was his belief that he had induced the worthy Dr. Edward Coppee, a manager of the Georgia Bible Society, to subscribe to the *Spectator*.[48]

Nathaniel Jocelyn set out for Savannah to make his fortune painting portraits; he had no intention of spending time writing a diary. The first step he took on his arrival to advance his career was to rent a painting room at a prestigious address. He then went to the office of the *Daily Georgian* and inserted the following advertisement, which appeared for the first time on December 9, 1820: ''N. Jocelyn, Portrait Painter has taken a room at Mrs. Hamilton's on the north side of Johnson's Square opposite the State Bank and is ready to wait on those who may wish his professional services.''

Commissions did come his way, but there was a problem: he was alone. He had neither his wife nor his brother Smith in whom to confide. He was worried, an exile from New Haven, the hometown he felt to be the center of his world. January 31 was his twenty-fifth birthday. He considered it a milestone to be acknowledged. Three days before he had heard the Reverend Mr. Otterson preach from the text, ''Jesus answered and said unto him 'Verily verily I say unto thee, except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.' '' Jocelyn outlined what Otterson had said, apparently asking himself, ''Who shall consider what is being born again?''[49]

On his birthday, he responded to the question by beginning a diary. In it he first summarizes how he resolved to become a portrait painter employing oil paints rather than watercolors. For ten years he has been frustrated, unable to give the time he would like toward perfecting this skill. Now he has an opportunity. He sets a schedule for transforming Nathaniel Jocelyn, engraver, into Nathaniel Jocelyn, portrait painter, employing oils. He allows himself five years. By his thirtieth birthday, in January 1826, he is to be at the top of the profession.

Was the earnest Nathaniel Jocelyn reborn in the mold that he had hoped? By 1826 he was painting excellent likenesses in oil. He had developed, as his diary

delineates, a technique for producing flesh tones which was much praised.[50] His approach to portrait painting, however, remained that of a tradesman producing a ware. He felt it was his job to produce as true a likeness as possible with an expected effort at flattery: he failed to notice or down-graded moles, blemishes, sharp age lines and squints. His diary pages are important for the study of art in America in the 1820s because he accepted the exactness-with-flattery standard of perfection which was held by most persons who sat for their portraits and paid for them.

Oddly, towards the end of his self-trial period, he began to paint with more insight. On May 3, 1826 he records, ''Rec. of Reverend Mr. Smith ten dollars in part payment for portrait of son, $15 total price when painted.''[51] The painting, a cabinet portrait (painted on wood), was not completed until 1827. For it Jocelyn used a lighter background, giving the presentation depth, as well as the quality of a study of character.

Whatever he really received for this painting, it was far below the price which Jocelyn surmised he could earn at the top of his career. In 1966, through the extraordinary efforts of the late Foster Wild Rice, the artist's great-grandson, a list was compiled of Jocelyn paintings. This totals 154 works (not all proved). Of these, ten are miniatures and two drawings; the remainder are oils. Since that time, two dozen or so possible oil paintings and one miniature have been added to the accounting. This compares with the 2,017 listed portraits by Thomas Sully, a contemporary with whom Jocelyn was acquainted.[52]

At least sixty (roughly forty percent) of the oil portraits of his entire output were begun before 1827, almost all of these during the periods in which Jocelyn was writing his diary—that is, 1821, 1822 and 1826. In none of these years did he complete more than twenty paintings.

One necessity for portrait painters of this era was the ability to paint quickly. If the artist faltered, he simply could not earn enough. Although Jocelyn boasts of the speed which he had attained, it may have been wishful thinking.

Towards the end of his life, Professor Benjamin Silliman compiled a list of the portraits for which he had sat.[53] He had this to say about the one by Jocelyn, painted during the summer of 1826: ''Jocelyn solicited me to sit for himself. These engagements with artists were always very inconvenient and in this case particularly so, as Mr. Jocelyn required a great amount of time....'' Silliman, who tended to be acid, continued, ''I believe about three weeks on alternate days, giving time for the paint to dry, the sittings were generally two to three hours.'' Still, Silliman praised the portrait. ''Jocelyn produced a good picture and sold it to Mr. Stephen Dubose of South Carolina, a pupil and friend, who took it home.''

In studying the Jocelyn painting record, one perceives a hard-working young man putting forth much effort for what he must have considered a modest return, especially compared to Finley Morse's receipts. He did not always receive cash—he bartered some portraits for services, such as that of his cousin, Captain William

H. Jocelyn of the *Belvidere.* [54] He could not have taken in much more than $2,000 from his portrait sales during the five-year period, and his expenses were considerable. The diary may mislead, but its extant pages record daily painting activities and thoughts during those periods in which he was presumably working at his chosen profession full time. The references to his other money-earning activities are sparse, even though he never failed to pursue them. He mentions his map and atlas business only once, for example—on Monday, February 6, 1826. The extent of the involvement is revealed by a phrase, ''making out copy right acct. of Atlases.''

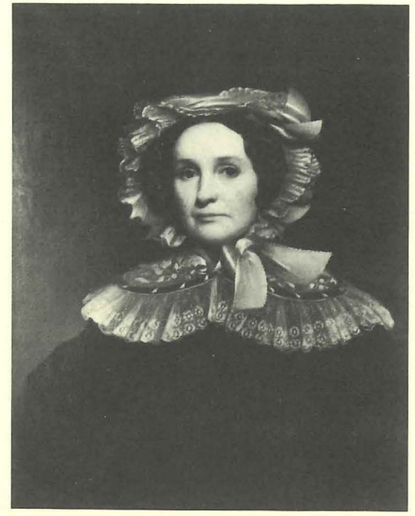
Thus, most of the story concerning Jocelyn's non-painting and non-praying activities has to be pieced together from bits of his correspondence, other people's letters and diaries, examples of banknotes, books and maps for which the firm of N. & S.S. Jocelyn were responsible, public records and newspapers. From these one finds out that Jocelyn, in spite of his resolution to devote all his efforts to portrait painting, did successfully turn to engraving, map selling, printing and inventing to enhance his income, one activity fostering another.

Dedication to portrait painting for a Yankee like Jocelyn never could mean foregoing an opportunity to earn money by another skill in which he was accomplished. If he could not induce a new acquaintance to sit for his portrait or at worst a miniature, he might be a customer for banknotes. On Sunday, February 11, 1821, for example, just two weeks after his birthday pledge to portrait painting, Jocelyn attended afternoon meeting. After the service, Jocelyn records that he walked with ''Mr. D. & A.'' Mr. D. turned out to be James Dunwody, [55] and Jocelyn spent the evening of the thirteenth with him. Jocelyn saw him again on the fourteenth, but it was not until the sixteenth that he records, ''I fastened in the Bank Note specimens into my book and wrote a statement of terms. Towards evening I carried them down to Mr. Dunwody.''

There is no record that this effort resulted in the firm of N. & S.S. Jocelyn having received an order for engraving banknotes from the Darien, Georgia bank with which Dunwody was associated. Jocelyn did persist in pushing for banknote sales while in Savannah, advertising in March 1822 that he had a book of specimen banknotes at his painting room, ready for inspection by interested bankers. Even if he received no orders, he could not have failed to have learned about the problem of forged banknotes then plaguing Savannah banks. Later in his career he would patent (with Jeremiah Atwater in 1831) ''a promistory note which could not be raised in its amount,'' and still later a green ink which could not be tampered with. He sold this patent to the United States Government.

Nathaniel Jocelyn liked people. He enjoyed learning what they knew, what they thought. If a meeting led to a commission or banknote business, it was a plus but not essential. What he sought was an interesting circle of friends.

In his record of February 1, 1821, the second day of his diary keeping, he notes, ''Wandered about during the forenoon, went down to the east extremity of the bay to look for the *Belvidere* [his cousin's ship] below, fell in company with Tefft



Mrs. Henry Trowbridge (Harriet Hayes), 1789-1851. Oil on canvas, 24½ × 29½", painted about 1841 and signed. (Collection of Thomas Trowbridge)

with whom I sat on the beach and conversed awhile and returned with him to my [painting] room.''

Israel Keech Tefft, [56] also a newcomer, had just arrived in Savannah from Providence, Rhode Island. He soon became editor and owner of the *Savannah Georgian.* The two men became friends, and Tefft sat for Jocelyn. In 1822 Tefft was appointed assistant clerk in the State Bank of Georgia, much more of a position than the title implies today. Eventually he became cashier (general manager). Jocelyn would receive banknote engraving business through Tefft during the decade prior to the Civil War.

More important to Jocelyn's evaluation of himself as a portrait painter in oils was the man Jocelyn met through Tefft, Henry James William Finn, [57] actor, playwright, and miniature painter. He was probably the most urbane person Nathaniel had ever met. Finn, in addition to his acting roles in the theater in Savannah, shared the editorship of the *Georgian* with Tefft. He was not quite thirty-four and was an independent spirit. Born in Nova Scotia, he had had a sound preparatory-school education. He is said to have attended Princeton, though he did not graduate. He studied law for two or three years and then, on a visit to England, decided on a stage career. His first American appearance was in Philadelphia in 1817, and he performed in New York City the following year and then in Savannah. He had become proficient at miniature painting, his instruction in which one can conjecture was more formal than that received by Jocelyn.

On February 21, 1821, Finn and Tefft called on Jocelyn sometime after dinner. [58] ''With Tefft,'' Jocelyn recounts, ''I went to the reading room [the

Literary and Commercial Reading Room, William Thorne Williams, proprietor][59] where finding many things which were well worth attention in a professional light I subscribed for a month, $1.50.''

Jocelyn did not stay there long. He returned to the reading room ''about ½ past 4 where I found Finn with whom and in reading I spent the rest of the afternoon.'' This is what happened: ''From conversation with him my intention of visiting England was revived, and I determined to keep the plan in view so that as soon as I shall be able to leave home under sufficiently prosperous circumstances I will proceed to London with the intention of acquiring that knowledge and training which it is impossible to acquire at home.''

In the course of conversation, Finn gave Jocelyn his appraisal: ''Finn thinks that two years spent in Europe now would be better than five years hence—but I cannot hope for those advantages at present. He told me I ought to be encouraged to persevere by all means for that considering how little time I had devoted to the practice of art, I had 'certainly made astonishing progress.' ''

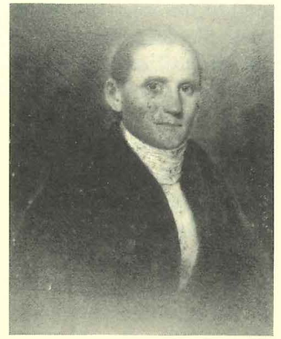
Jocelyn appreciated the wisdom of Finn's recommendation. He argued with himself over ''contending duties.'' ''Conscience,'' he told himself, ''says that I ought to seize the means of better enabling me to provide the means of supporting my family in respectability and comfort which would result from the improvement I should doubtly [*sic*] make, and the additional reputation which I should thereby acquire.''[61]

Conscience also instructed him that ''my presence will be so much needed at home to train our beloved children and [for] the enjoyment of domestick happiness.''

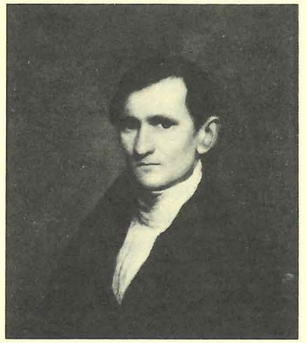
He never would give up his dream of study abroad. He was simply more willing to try any other course for improving his talent first, and, by making such an effort, he naturally could consider himself still to be in a state of grace. A plan presented itself. Through the Reverend William Capers,[62] whose Methodist meeting he attended, Jocelyn met the Reverend Doctor Henry Kollock,[63] a leading citizen of Savannah. Kollock, now old and sick, had been dismissed as pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church. He took an interest in Jocelyn and taught him a great deal about art. He provided Jocelyn with an introduction to the artist Edward Greene Malbone's sister in Newport, Rhode Island, which place Jocelyn said he intended to visit the following summer.[64] It seems likely that this excursion led to Jocelyn's calling on Gilbert Stuart and learning how Stuart arranged his palette.

Intellectually Jocelyn appreciated that he had much to learn in Savannah, but he could not help being a young husband in love with his wife. There is a pattern to his recurrent homesickness. For example, on February 1, he wrote, ''Felt depressed...no letters from home...no news since 15 december.'' Then that evening he ''felt sick and in bodily Paine,'' in spite of which he went visiting.

Could it be that he was not in a state of grace? He reported to God on his transgressions. The best infraction he could think of was, ''Those who visit my [paint-



The back of this 9½ × 11″ painting on millboard bears the inscription ''Wm. Capers N. Jocelyn Pinxt 1821.'' The diary confirms that a portrait of Capers was painted in Savannah, but the Capers family says this is not he. (The painting disappeared in 1966 on the way back to Emory University, which owns it.)



The Capers family asserts that this painting, approximately 5″ square, at the family home in Oxford, Mississippi, is Capers. (Photo courtesy of Mrs. Norman Buck of Hamden, Capers's great-granddaughter.)

The two portraits above may be compared to the frontispiece of the Life of Capers, *showing the bishop as an elderly man. It is possible that Jocelyn painted both portraits, and the diary could be interpreted in this way.*

ing] room are worldly, and many profane, perhaps I ought more avowedly express my feelings with the subject to them. O Lord Jesus hide thy face from me, but make clear the path of duty, and strengthen me to walk therein.''

Once he had recorded his guilt feelings for himself and God to see, he could report on his ailment: ''Have been for a few days disordered in my bowels, and physic has not yet stopped it. I believe it was owing to a too free use of the luxuries of life one noon, not of drinking, but a hearty dinner, smoking, raisins & fruit. Look out in the future for raisins.''[66] Professor Clifford Chieffo of Georgetown University, after reading Jocelyn's diary, pointed out that Jocelyn, like many other painters of the period, had become sick from inhaling the dust from grinding paints.

The very next day, two letters for him were advertised as having been received at the post office.[67] He went for them at once. One letter was from Smith; the other from his ''dear Sarah.'' His comment on Saturday, February 3: ''Since receiving the two letters, think I have felt more spiritually minded yesterday and today.'' There were no more health bulletins—for the time being.

All the same, though the news in the letters seemed to confirm that he was in a state of grace, he must also keep noble religious sentiments flowing. A friend from home, Loyal Scranton,[68] who now lived in Savannah, had undoubtedly seen the letters advertised and called to see him. He inquired about the news from home. The big event, as far as Jocelyn was concerned, was the conversion of A.B. Goldsmith.[69] Smith, who was now much involved in revival work, had written of it in detail. Nathaniel reported to Scranton on how glorious Goldsmith's conversion was, but his diary comment shows he was disappointed in Scranton's response: ''It seemed a great thing to him but as one who had no interest in spiritual things [he] soon enquired what other news. Answered him that Smith had commenced the study of Theology.''

So much for the unspiritual stumbler Scranton who, incidentally, did not sign his name to sit for a portrait. On Jocelyn's return to Savannah the next season, Scranton was one of the first to call. Jocelyn offered to paint Scranton's miniature at his ''New Haven'' price so that Jocelyn could have a sample of his work to show to other prospects. There is no indication that Scranton agreed. On May 27, 1822, Jocelyn called on Scranton at his home, according to the diary. This was just before he left Savannah for good—he could have been delivering the miniature if he did paint it.

Another friend from home was the merchant Joseph Stone. He subscribed to the New Haven paper,[70] and Nathaniel felt free to go there and read it whenever he chose. Though Jocelyn records that Stone had received a letter from Smith, there is no indication that Joseph Stone was involved in Smith's missionary work, nor was Stone in the forefront of activists at either the Methodist or the Independent Presbyterian church.

The people he met at church and through his uncle were among his first customers. On February 13, 1821, he notes, ''Mrs. [Francis] Stone[71] was at our

house [Uncle Smith's] at tea and told me she would have her portrait painted and to fit a frame she had....'' This portrait was completed on May 19, 1821.

The story of the portrait of Mrs. Stone, as pieced together from the diary, brings focus to Jocelyn's method, his shortcomings as an artist, his constant experimenting in the hopes of being more effective, and his willingness to accept criticism.

''Feb. 14th...Mrs. Stone & c [child?] came, agreed to sit tomorrow.... Went...to Mr. Stone's ½ past 3. Mrs. S. agreed to have her Portrait head size....''

The first sitting was ''in the forenoon'' of the next day when Jocelyn ''drew & dead colored [Mrs. Stone's] head. She came at ½ past 10, sat till ½ past 12....'' The following day she ''came at ½ past 3, sat to ¼ past 5....''

Five days later, on February 21, while his uncle Smith was sitting for his portrait, ''we were interrupted by ladies coming in'' at ¼ past 11 and Mrs. Stone ''sat until ½ past 1. Did not make great Progress with her head, got it chalky and found after she had gone that it wants the cool tints, so went to work and painted them where I thought they were wanted and it helped it some....'' Nothing more was mentioned about the portrait until May 19, when Jocelyn reports, ''Mrs. Stone's portrait in frame....''

It was not until January 7 of the following year that Jocelyn would learn the truth. ''Not very well satisfied with myself after a call from Mrs. Bryan[72] and Mrs. Richardson,'' he comments. ''Learnt this morning that Mrs. Stone thinks her portrait too old while a friend of hers thinks it on the whole too much flattered.''

By Tuesday, February 5, Jocelyn was working on Mrs. Stone's portrait once more: ''In the forenoon I painted on the cap of Mrs. Stone's portrait and in the afternoon painted the background of a greenish grey. It was before a silvery redish grey—rather dirty and not setting off the head well. Upon the whole I have not much advanced my business today, in the morning I had to grind white [paint] and in the afternoon felt very dull. I must eat less at dinner....''[73]

''Feb. 6th...I had a sitting from Mrs. Stone, painted on the face but did not produce any great consequences. I dead coloured the gown. Substituted blue black for Ivory black on my pallett. Compared the two pure colours on glass and Ivory black was decidedly of a clear deep black, though mixed with white, the other appeared to produce the coolest grey—perhaps, it will be best to keep [on the palette] a little pure Ivory black among the shade colours....

''May 5th, 1822. Morning—finished Mrs. Stone's portrait.''

Jocelyn's willingness to revise Mrs. Stone's picture seems to have had its reward. Mr. Stone, it appears, then sat for a portrait.

A change in attitude is apparent in the diary pages. Nathaniel Jocelyn approached his second season in Savannah with less enthusiasm than the first. He had come to Savannah convinced that he could be successful as a portrait painter if only he applied himself. The summer of 1820, when he had gotten to know Finley Morse, had been exhilarating. Here was someone with whom he could discuss painting! Morse had shown his new friend a black-and-white oil of his.

Jocelyn attempted a copy of this study, which he called *Innocence*. He took it with him to Savannah and from time to time worked on it; it was a learning exercise and a challenge. The second season he was still the eager student, but instead of painting to learn, he began Latin lessons in exchange for landscape lessons with a friend named Russell.

In the second season, he did not have the remarkable circle of friends who were interested in painting. In 1821, besides Tefft and Finn, he had become acquainted with, among others, Negus and C. Schroeder. Negus, who was from Petersham, Massachusetts, had gone south in November 1820.[74] He painted signs, Masonic emblems and theater scenery while in Savannah. He also liked to discuss religion. He and Jocelyn went to see a Gilbert Stuart portrait on exhibit together, not once but twice, intent on evaluating its merits.

Schroeder (Jocelyn writes the name ''Scroder'' or ''Scroeder'') was a miniature painter.[75] Like Finn, who was his friend, he grew up in New York City. The three of them dined together on occasion. Jocelyn worried about Schroeder's soul. He would take a walk with him on the Sabbath and try to induce him to go to meeting; he was horrified on one occasion when Schroeder preferred to spend the Sabbath reading Reynolds's book on painting. Their friendship almost came to an end when Jocelyn found that Schroeder had underbid him on a miniature-painting job.

In 1822 entries there is no mention of Tefft nor of Negus. Jocelyn completed Finn's portrait and later sketched his head, though Finn may have already left for England, forcing Jocelyn to work from memory. He mentions Schroeder but with less concern for his soul. His close friends were ministerial, particularly Lowell Mason[76] and his wife, to whose house ''he removed his trunk'' and took lodging on December 31, 1821. He painted both their portraits, and he valued Mason's opinion of his work. When Jocelyn returned to New Haven, he shipped Mason at least one package of books.

Mason, in May 1822, wrote a letter of introduction for Jocelyn to the artist Thomas Sully in Philadelphia. Jocelyn was arranging a stopover there on his way back to New Haven.

He had need of friends like Mason, for during his Savannah seasons the plight of other people's souls as well as his own often became overpowering. Early in 1821, he met a ''Mr. Green,'' a man of similar concerns. ''On February the fifth [1821],'' Jocelyn notes, ''Went about 8 to see Mr. Finn. He not being at home, went to meeting just before it concluded. Walked with Green down market to the end, was much pleased on hearing singing at an old house to find by looking through the shutters that it was a singing meeting of the blacks, and the females, whom alone I saw, had singing books and were singing by note.''[77]

On Sunday, March 4, Jocelyn records, ''After meeting we had a refreshing time at my [painting] room with Green and the two blacks of the kitchen and God seemed to be with us. I feel as if I should delight in going about exorting [*sic*] and praying where God may send me....''

Smith Jocelyn was beginning his preaching mission to the blacks of New Haven, and his enthusiasm convinced Jocelyn—for the moment—that he, too, should be spreading the good word. This evangelism and obdurate piety would not win him friends in Savannah. One Southerner not obsessed with churchgoing, Charles Tebeau,[78] began to sit for his portrait and then refused to continue with the sittings. He declined to pay for the work done. Before returning to New Haven, in the summer of 1821, Jocelyn sued Tebeau and obtained a judgment.

On his return to Savannah in December 1821, Jocelyn advertised that he would be at his painting room. He had an unanticipated caller on the morning of January 2: Tebeau. ''Tebeau...accompanied by one Wiseman...abused me dreadfully, demanded his unfinished picture...Threatened to bring me to court, to challenge me, etc. He left me by demanding the picture at 10 tomorrow.''

''As soon as he was gone'' Jocelyn went for the picture and painted until dark—coat, waistcoat, cravat, hair. He added ruefully, ''Made the face look better though it is not much like him. Has to appear worth the amount I had got of him. As it was, it did not appear so.''

Jocelyn then began praying to God. He sought out Mason and a friend, Charles McIntire, a founder of the Savannah Bible Society.[79] Both tried to tell him not to worry ''but to act firmly.'' He admitted to himself that the event ''has so disordered my business as to prevent any attention to drawing this evening, and to allow only of reviewing my last night Latin lesson.''

He commences his diary entry on the following day, January 3, ''In my distress I cried unto the Lord.'' To his surprise and probably to Tebeau's amusement, Tebeau arrived with ''two acquaintances'' late in the afternoon. He asked Jocelyn ''to finish and apologised for his misconduct.''

Jocelyn did finish the picture—despite his guests' rowdy behavior: ''I was forced to reprove them for swearing, but it was ineffectual and for the time I thought it would be casting pearl before swine to say more. They were certainly very abandoned.''

As the months of his second season in Savannah progressed, Jocelyn, in spite of having a good many commissions to complete, felt less at home, increasingly restless. On May 28, he ''spent the evening at Mr. Dunwoody's...a number of his companions were there. He says people expect me to return, and regard me as settled here.'' Jocelyn had made up his mind: ''If so, they are mistaken, but I do not think it will be any great disappointment to them if I do not return.''

Jocelyn the soul searcher had reached a point of ''self-knowledge,'' at least on one point. The world of Savannah was not for him. It was more fundamental than just learning how not to feel ''constrained'' at a party at which there were people who held religious beliefs which were in his mind anathema to his own. (He had already learned the discipline of not interjecting his beliefs unless religion somehow became the subject of discussion.) He did not like the climate. And he did not believe that he could ever feel at home.

One gains the impression that he was not as sure as he once had been that Nathaniel Jocelyn could become "Nathaniel Jocelyn, portrait painter in oils," the imaginary portrait of whom he had already framed. He was preparing himself for another step forward, one in which he would again be tested as to whether he was in a state of grace. He was going home to New Haven, with a stopover on the way in Philadelphia. He had secured passage on the "elegant new" packet ship *Georgia*.[80] Now he was in a rush to complete all the portraits with which he was engaged.

As he often was when working under pressure, Jocelyn was afflicted with what he labeled "a weak stomach." This time the remedy was to be found in "the only place that I could find for a few moments of enjoyment," Roma's Public Bath, another first, it seems, for Nathaniel Jocelyn.[81] He recounts what took place: "Made the water quite tepid at first and cooler afterward, and got in without waiting. When I went out into the air, it was like going into a room in which an oven is heating. From the bath I went and dined . . . was overcome with heat." He continued his health report: "I think I risked my health this forenoon drinking into a weak stomach some ale which was pricked, and after coming out of the bath, a little Cherry Brandy. I avoided meat today & grease. Lay down half an hour on my bed after dinner."[82]

The intestinal disorder which began in Savannah, according to Foster Rice, became more manifest in Philadelphia, so that he "did not arrive in New Haven until September." Whatever the reason for delay, Jocelyn had no intention of leaving Philadelphia until he had accomplished his mission there.

Philadelphia, once the country's capital and leading city, had long been considered a mecca for American artists. Its Pennsylvania Academy held annual art shows which attracted visitors from all over the country. There were art material suppliers. Jocelyn, like most of his contemporaries in America, had problems concerning oil paints, most of which had to be manufactured by the artist himself from raw materials. Philadelphia was a logical place for Jocelyn to seek answers.

In addition, a change in painting method was then taking place. American portraits, when Jocelyn commenced his efforts, had customarily been painted on wood, but there was an abrupt change in preference for canvas. He sent to England for canvases and brushes, ordering from the same firm as did Morse, but the new material presented problems which he had not anticipated. He was learning how to paint on linen while on the job.

He describes what he was up against as he began copying a portrait of Joseph Bryan, the original by Vanderlyn: "May 21st [1821] . . . Mrs. Bryan wishes me to make a copy of a portrait by Vanderlyn in 1800 in Paris. It is much softer and in a better style than some he has since painted in America. But it is badly cracked."

Jocelyn examined the canvas before starting on his own version. "The canvas is light and threads perfectly separated. The ground was probably an oil ground laid on with a knife being very smooth, and it is cracked in many places spiraly

thus [drawing of a spiral] which penetrates through the priming of the canvas as may be seen by holding the picture before the light."

He then traced the head on muslin—"the first experiment of the kind I have ever tried."

His next entry concerning the job was on May 26. "In pumicing a canvas for Mr. Bryan's Portrait which had had 3 coats of ground, I find that it is not sufficient to make that [a] complete surface." And here is a new problem: "Where the thread is rounded up by washing . . . the inequalities of the cloth are pumiced off which leaves specks of thread to be painted on. . . ."

Nathaniel Jocelyn did his best to present Mrs. Bryan with an "uncracked" copy of her husband's portrait. However, his work was not completely satisfactory. Almost as soon as he returned for the next season, in January 1822, Mrs. Bryan called on him to complain that the background had "leadened," a fault he seems to have been able to rectify.

One wishes Jocelyn had kept a diary of the artists and suppliers with whom he talked once he reached Philadelphia. If he did and it still exists, it is in some unnoticed trunk or attic. In any case, it is certain that he did call on the firm of Murray, Fairman & Co. publishers and printers. (It was to George Fairman that Eli Whitney had written a letter recommending the seventeen-year-old Jocelyn as an engraver in 1813.)

At the time of Jocelyn's visit, Murray, Fairman & Co. had joined with Samuel F. Bradford in producing the first American edition of *The Cyclopaedia or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences & Literature* by Abraham Rees, really an enlargement of an earlier work by Ephraim Chambers.[83] Unlike the American edition of *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, the production of which was begun in Philadelphia some years earlier by Joseph Delaplaine, the Rees encyclopedia is merely an American reprint of its English counterpart with a new title page and list of subscribers.

It was a superior reference work, however. Jocelyn had copied out the entries on Engraving, Dry-Point, etc., for his own reference and kept them with his diary pages. He must also have read the excellent, long account of the history of painting. He apparently was much impressed by the last volume, the *Atlas*, and must have made an effort to learn what he could about the art of cartography, for map engraving and publishing was soon to be an important new Jocelyn endeavor.

In addition, a business arrangement seems to have been worked out between N. & S.S. Jocelyn and Murray, Fairman & Co. The Jocelyn brothers were skilled at engraving banknotes. Nathaniel may even have come to Philadelphia with orders on hand for banknote engraving. Preparing these plates for printing, and the actual printing, would become the Murray, Fairman & Co. portion of their joint enterprises.

The reason why the Jocelyns remained committed to the banknote business was, of course, that it paid so well. Moreover, there was repeat business to be had from the banks that were their customers. While the prices the Jocelyns obtained from their work in the early 1820s were probably much less than they re-

ceived a decade later, an examination of their printed terms as of May 2, 1831 shows it was certainly more remunerative than Nathaniel's portrait painting.

Terms

Engraving a Copper plate of four notes $250.00

Retouching a Copper plate of four notes $125.00

Engraving a Steel plate of four notes $500.00

Retouching a Steel plate of four notes $250.00

Printing per hundred impressions of plates of four notes, including extra hard pressing 2.00

A Copper plate is warranted to take 6000, and a steel plate 35,000 good impressions, and the same number after being retouched. Superior Bank note paper at manufacturer's prices.[84]

Home at last. New Haven at the end of September 1822 was not a boom town as was Savannah, but to someone with Nathaniel Jocelyn's orientation it was decidedly more exciting. Noah Webster had moved back after a ten-year stay in Amherst, Massachusetts, and was working on the crowning achievement of his career, a comprehensive American dictionary—not an import from Great Britain like the encyclopedias being printed in Philadelphia. Many of the intellectuals in the community were being called on to help him in this effort.

On the religious front, which was of utmost concern to the Jocelyns, Nathaniel's brother Smith, who had been receiving instruction in theology from Nathaniel Taylor, minister of Center Church (The First Society), had received a "License to Preach."[85] He was already focusing his interest on the black community, which he felt lacked the proper religious leadership. And the Reverend Mr. Taylor, who felt preaching two sermons each Sunday on the general topic of grace, conversion and redemption increasingly burdensome, had resigned his pastorate. He had accepted the new Timothy Dwight Professorship of Divinity at Yale. Now he would have an opportunity to express and develop his own ideas concerning Puritan theology—in time to be termed "the New Haven theology" or "the New Haven religion." Smith knew all about this prospect.

As for painting, Finley Morse was completing his major historical canvas *The Hall of Congress.*[86] It showed the House of Representatives in action, rather than posed as a group portrait of noble men. It was a radical departure from what the public expected, and Morse would soon learn to his chagrin that the public was by and large unwilling to pay money to see it when it was exhibited. Morse had also begun work on his marble-cutting invention. Unfortunately, Nathaniel Jocelyn had given up writing a diary by then, and so we do not have his reaction to these developments.

The New Haven to which Nathaniel Jocelyn returned was exciting, but at the same time, it was competitive. He engaged a painting room separate from the offices of N. & S.S. Jocelyn, ready for whatever portrait commissions he could obtain. He must have recognized that Finley Morse was bound to skim off the cream of the business. It appears that the two friends had at least an informal working arrangement. When in 1823 Morse was asked by David C. De Forest to paint his portrait and that of his wife, Jocelyn was called on to do the portraits of the two De Forest daughters and De Forest's mother, Mrs. Lockwood.

But to Nathaniel Jocelyn, being the second most important portrait painter in New Haven was not being in the desired state of grace. He must seek a different outlet for his creative talent in which his skill could be recognized as preeminent. He turned to map engraving and map publishing, a field in which he became associated with Finley's next brother, Sydney. Sydney, as well as the youngest Morse son, Richard, had learned the art of cartography from their father, the Reverend Jedidiah Morse, the geographer. The firm of N. & S.S. Jocelyn soon had three major map projects underway.[87]

A *Map of Greece,* "from the latest and best authorities, copyright 31 Jan., 1824"—Nathaniel Jocelyn's twenty-eighth birthday. It was published jointly by N. & S.S. Jocelyn, New Haven, and Collins & Hannay, New York, and was engraved by the Jocelyns. Printed thereon in large, ornate script: "This Map Dedicated to the Friends of Greece by their ob' Servts. N. & S. Jocelyn."

Map of the West Indies and History of Piracies Committed on American Seamen & Commerce, 1825. The dedication for this reads, "To the Gallant Officers and Seamen of the American Navy, the protectors of Commerce in the West Indies Seas, this Map is respectfully inscribed by the Publishers." The publishers were Monson & Co. of New Haven; the engravers, N. & S.S. Jocelyn; S. Converse of New Haven was the printer. Among its features the map "exhibits also the various haunts of the brigands that have for several years infested these seas." Printed on the left side of the sheet is the story of "Commodore Porter's Affair at Foxardo, while on the right side is the account of the "Death of Lieutenant Allen." At the bottom of the sheet are year-by-year "listings of atrocities" from 1818 through the first atrocity for 1825.

Also in 1825, *A New Universal Atlas of the World* "on an improved plan, consisting of 30 maps carefully prepared from the latest authority with complete alphabetical indexes." The "authority" or author is Sydney Morse; the publishers are N. & S.S. Jocelyn. On the title page of the second edition, Jedidiah Morse is listed as co-author.

How important the Jocelyn map and atlas activity had become to the financial solvency of the Morse family is evidenced in a letter from Sydney, then in New York City, written to his parents in New Haven, December 9, 1823. (At the time it was written, Finley's painting, *The Hall of Congress* was a failure, and old Jedidiah was auctioning off books to raise cash.) "With respect to funds I have in my possession Jocelyn's and Stiles' notes for $400 due some time hence; Collins' note

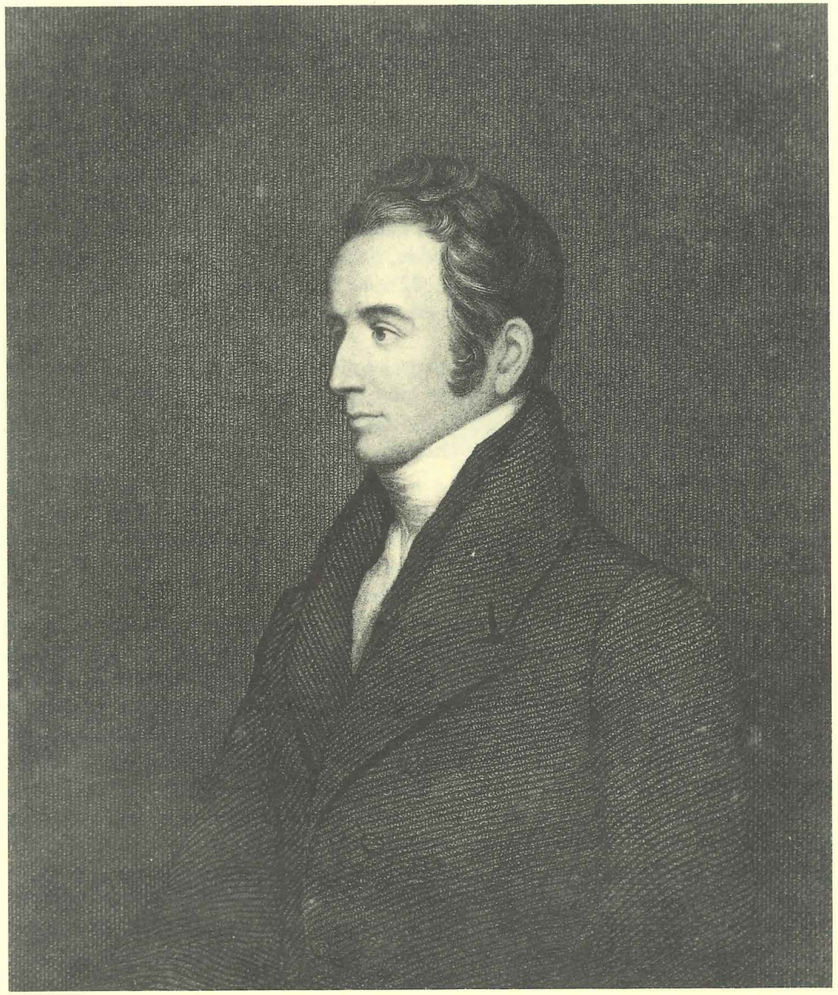
for $100 at ten months [Collins was a co-publisher of the *Map of Greece*]; Lockwood's for $127 at eleven months. There will be due me from Jocelyn's for the United States Atlas (you say) $250 and something from Converse on account of sales of the geography. All these together, if the notes could be cashed, would not amount to more than enough money for the $900 which will be due Mr. Seymour on the 17th February. . . .'' [88]

On February 16, 1824, Sydney reports to his parents on Jocelyn's progress. It appears that Jocelyn must have been in New York City some days earlier: ''Jocelyn, I understand is doing well with the map of Greece at New Haven. His agents here are not doing very well. [89] The people here have had so much of Greece that they are sick of it. [The revolt against Turkish rule had commenced in 1820 and had been headline news in New York City ever since.] The tide is at ebb here while it is rising in the country. I tell the agents they had better push off into the country and leave this market in the hands of the booksellers; but there is a clashing between agents and booksellers.''

And now one learns that Jocelyn the portrait painter is a gifted sales manager: ''It is for the interest of the agents to keep the work out of booksellers' hands, and as Mr. Jocelyn sends down all the maps to his agents, they will, of course, take care that booksellers do not get hold of them.'' Sydney adds, ''I hope Mr. Jocelyn will manage the whole affair wisely, and make something handsome out of it—but it is an experiment—and I have had enough of experiments to prevent me from being sanguine.'' [90]

The Jocelyn map and atlas projects continued with success into the 1830s, and in many of them Sydney Morse was involved. This new business, plus the continued efforts of N. & S.S. Jocelyn in banknote printing, made it financially possible for Nathaniel to leave his family and spend that long-wished-for year in Europe—June 1829 to June 1830. A husband spending a year away from home was something quite acceptable in New Haven at the time; the venerable Noah Webster had spent the year of June 1824 to June 1825 in London and Paris doing research on his dictionary.

Success in the map and atlas business made it possible for Nathaniel Jocelyn to accept the fact in June 1825 that after five years he had not reached the pinnacle of portrait painting in oil. He put his brushes and paints aside. He might never have made another grand effort at being a full-time painter had it not been for Finley Morse. After the failure of *The Hall of Congress,* Morse considered giving up painting. He made an unsuccessful effort to obtain a diplomatic post, that of secretary to the minister to Mexico. But while he was in Washington attempting to secure the appointment, his wife died in New Haven. [91] With the encouragement of his long-time friend James A. Hillhouse and Hillhouse's father-in-law, Mayor Lawrence, he received the commission to paint Lafayette's portrait. He moved to New York City, though he left his children with his parents in New Haven. In New York he painted his famous portrait of Professor Benjamin Silliman in June 1825.



Jehudi Ashmun (1794-1828), engraving by Simeon Jocelyn after the portrait painted posthumously by Nathaniel Jocelyn. As he had requested, Ashmun was buried in the plot for blacks in the Grove Street Cemetery. (NHCHS collection)

Who was to take Finley Morse's place as the leading portrait painter in New Haven? Finley and Nathaniel decided it should be Nathaniel. Shortly after the first of the year in 1826, Jocelyn began to paint on a regular basis and, as he had done in Savannah, to keep diary pages of his progress. These entries are fewer, less full. On January 24, he observed, ''Most of the afternoon spent working at the portrait [of the Reverend Dr. Davies] and thinking on it and on the proportions of Portrait and head, a subject on which I have not thought since June.'' [92] (He was also not accustomed to working in New Haven day after day.)

Morse, who was in New Haven on a visit, looked in to see how Jocelyn was progressing. Jocelyn's notation of Tuesday, February 7: ''Afternoon set my pallett and painted Mrs. Murdock 2nd time, 12½ to 5. During the sitting Morse was present and related the progress & situation of the New Institution of Art in [New York City]. [93]

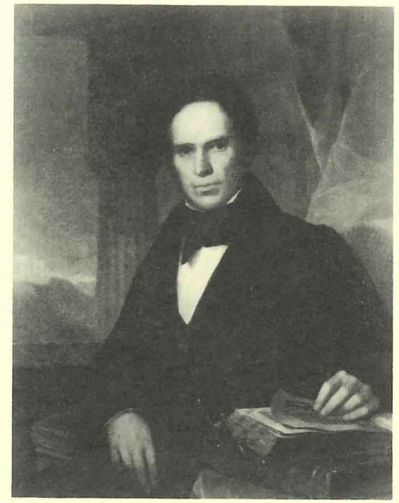
Finley Morse must have been satisfied as to Nathaniel's skill, for in a letter to his parents in New Haven, written in New York on February 17, 1826, he instructs them: ''Please deliver the canvas and sketching frame which I had prepared for Dr. Ives, [94] he [Jocelyn] has purchased them of me.''

Later in the letter, Finley added a line which shows the bond of trust and friendship that existed between the two men: ''I send by Mr. Jocelyn, the Stone for Lucretia's [Morse's wife's] grave, he will see it properly placed.''

Jocelyn produced some of his best portraits during 1826, though he was no longer motivated by the same ambition as he had been in Savannah. Gradually he painted less and less, though he exhibited at the first show of the National Academy of Design in New York City, a society newly formed under the leadership of Morse in opposition to the American Academy of Art, which was under the thumb of the self-serving oldster Colonel John Trumbull. In the spring of 1827, Nathaniel Jocelyn was elected an ''artist of the [new] Institution.'' He declined. On May 28, 1827, he wrote Finley telling him his reasons in a long letter, which Finley was to show only to ''Mr. [Ithiel] Town & Mr. [Asher] Durand.'' Jocelyn believed that because he was from out of town he should have been named as associate member or, perhaps, an honorary member. [95]

The truth was that Jocelyn realized that he had not become a great portrait painter in five years, the measure he had set for himself. He would use his craft now as he did his skill in engraving—for what it would produce. He developed a technique for painting people after they had died, even having on hand a special tool for the purpose. [96] When in August 1828, Jehudi Ashmun, agent for the American Colonization Society in Liberia, arrived in New Haven and died soon thereafter, Jocelyn painted his portrait, and Smith Jocelyn made an engraving from it. N. & S.S. Jocelyn offered the engraved impressions for sale. The portrait has disappeared, but the engraving exists as the frontispiece of Ralph Randolph Gurley's *Life of Ashmun,* published in 1835.

He was prosperous enough now to plan for a year abroad. Morse and Town planned to join him in England.



Ithiel Town (1784-1844). Oil on canvas, 29 × 36", painted in New Haven in 1826. (Collection of the National Academy of Design)

When Colonel Trumbull prodded Jocelyn about his promise to send portraits to the American Academy exhibit of 1829, Jocelyn apologized, saying that he was too busy with his inventions. [97] His principal invention interest was how to prevent the forgery of banknotes. He could not, perhaps in spite of himself, concentrate totally on what he hoped to learn about art on his forthcoming trip to Europe. He could not resist managing while in London to obtain a letter of introduction to Mr. B. Cohen and Mr. Rothchild, in order to discuss his ''several inventions, which have received the countenance of the Government.'' The effort came to nothing, though Jocelyn was not discouraged by the rebuff. [98]

Jocelyn arrived at Liverpool on June 14, 1829 on the *Silas Richards.* He went directly to London, visiting first with the merchant Oliver P. Stone and his family and then with his engraver friend Mosely Isaac Danforth, with whom he resided until Morse and Town arrived on November 21. [99] Danforth, who had moved to London from the United States in 1827, was in a position to help Jocelyn learn the latest engraving techniques. He also introduced him to artists such as Leslie, Newton and Sir Thomas Lawrence.

Jocelyn, Morse and Town: three friends, all of whom were in the process of outgrowing in some way the New Haven which had fostered their careers. Why had they set out on their trip together to Paris, Provence, Florence and finally Rome? Apart from the joy of sightseeing, all of them, being the Yankee strivers that they were, had goals of accomplishment in view.

Ithiel Town, whose business offices were now in New York City, had in prospect for himself a home on Hillhouse Avenue in New Haven. Its central feature

would be a library-art gallery. It would be open to the public on a limited basis. The most discriminating of book collectors, he was amassing a collection of unequaled importance.[100] He was also buying paintings. A principal exponent of the Greek Revival style in the United States, he could only gain professionally from what he saw.

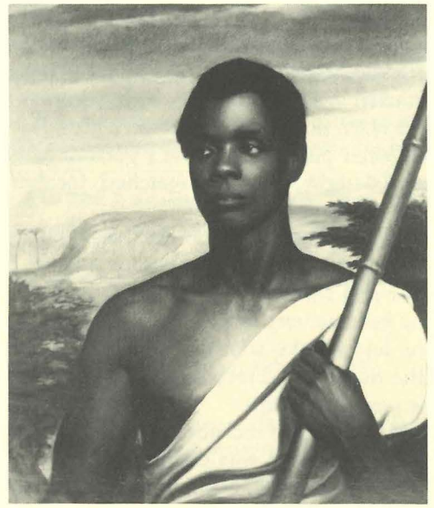
Samuel F.B. Morse, though much acclaimed as a painter, was still in search of financial success. He stayed on in Rome, sketching and painting. He would return to Paris, where he would paint his brilliant interior scene of the Louvre, showing in miniature the best known masterpieces.[101] Then, with all his purchases for art collectors (through which he had financed his trip) completed, he headed for home. After two-and-a-half years of study, he felt he had matured as an artist. Surprisingly, if one did not appreciate how necessary success was to Finley Morse, on the sea voyage home, he found reason to put his paint brushes aside forever: he learned about the prospect of telegraphy. He became Morse the inventor once more.

Though he never intended to give up portrait painting entirely, Nathaniel Jocelyn had to find out for himself that what Finn had predicted years ago in Savannah was true; that is, if Jocelyn delayed going to England to study, he could never make up for lost time and become the master portrait painter in oils of his dreams. His painting style on his return does not differ appreciably from what it was in 1826 or before. But his weeks in Italy studying art with Finley would stand him in good stead: years later, after he had retired and the Yale Art School had been established, Yale acquired the Jarves collection, and Jocelyn was appointed Curator of Italian Art.[102]

On his return from Europe, Nathaniel Jocelyn was more content to be the inventive businessman, believing tht this role offered him the opportunity for success. He could put to advantage what he had learned about engraVING. He also began to realize that the banknote business, for which he had knowledge and talent, was centered in New York City and not New Haven. Unfortunately, Nathaniel and Smith turned to the idea of making a fortune in New Haven real estate, which they thought was beginning to boom. Five hundred transactions later they would discover that they were wrong.[203]

Another challenge confronted Nathaniel on his arrival home. Smith had become a principal protagonist in the ''negro college'' struggle. It was the first episode in a decade of black-white confrontations which would take place in New Haven, a city reputed to be a place where blacks could live with little harrassment. At a convention of black leaders in Philadelphia, Smith, who was minister to the black church in New Haven, had suggested that a trade school for blacks—which he called a college—be established in New Haven. The word college turned New Haven against the plan. Its chief industry was Yale. Who would attend Yale if the city were filled with black students? At a public meeting which voted a ban on a black college, Nathaniel Jocelyn was one of the few to speak in its favor.[104]

He became a confirmed abolitionist. In 1833 he received a commission from



Cinqué. Oil on canvas, painted in New Haven in 1839. (NHCHS collection, gift of Dr. Charles B. Purvis)

Robert Purvis to paint William Lloyd Garrison.[105] This was at the time shen Prudence Crandall was being tried for opening her girls' school in Canterbury, Connecticut, to young black women. A guard was posted while Garrison sat for Jocelyn, but no mob appeared. Smith Jocelyn made an engraving from the portrait, and copies of the engraving were sent to England in advance of Garrison's visit there.

Six years later, in the fall of 1839, Purvis commissioned Nathaniel Jocelyn to paint the portrait of Cinqué, leader of the *Amistad* blacks, whose detention in the New Haven jail had just begun. Copies of Smith's engraving of this portrait, entitled *The Black Prince*, were sold to raise money for the cause of liberating blacks.

Nathaniel's home became a station of the Underground Railroad, of which Purvis was president. Still, he was not an activist in the abolitionist cause in the samy way as Smith, who, for example, undertook the supervision of the *Amistad* blacks when they exercised on the green.[106] Nathaniel was able to continue his friendship with Finley, who had somehow become a nativist and who favored slavery. Together they would visit the artist-playwright William Dunlap, to give him information for his biographical dictionary of American painters.

Nathaniel and Finley did drift apart, though. Economic pressures would cause Nathaniel to center his energies on engraving, while Finley—now Professor Morse—pursued his inventions. The Jocelyn brothers suffered severe losses from their real estate dealings in New Haven, partly as the result of the panic of 1837 and the setback of 1839. In 1835 Nathaniel had had plans for a new home drawn by the architect Alexander Jackson Davis.[107] But it would be thirty years before Jocelyn could go ahead with his project.

There was an even more devastating blow in store for Nathaniel Jocelyn and his wife and daughters, for the only son, Isaac, age six, fell ill and died quite suddenly, probably from a ruptured appendix. Each of the four oldest daughters started writing diaries, which began with the record of this sorrow. From these we learn that the boy died on a Monday night. The next morning Nathaniel commenced painting his son's portrait as he lay in his coffin in the parlor. Mother and daughters sat and watched. Jocelyn continued painting until an hour before the funeral. [108]

Late in 1839 Jocelyn began receiving important commissions for portraits. When in December 1840 he set out for Albany, New York, to paint the portraits of Governor and Mrs. William Seward, he contracted an infection. On his return home he became very sick. A trip to the Azores brough temporary relief. In March 1842 he had to take another voyage in search of sun, this to the Western Islands. By the time he had recovered, the firm of N. & S.S. Jocelyn was in turmoil. In 1843 it went bankrupt.

Although he did not give up painting completely until 1849, when his studio in New Haven was destroyed by fire, Nathaniel Jocelyn now concentrated on strengthening his business connections, especially with the Philadelphia banknote concerns with which he had a long association. He would be the architect in the founding of the American Bank Note Company in 1858. He served as head of its art department until his retirement in 1865, a measure of the technical skill which he had attained. [110]

At last he was back home in New Haven every day in the week! Now he would have the home of which he so long had dreamed! It was built to new plans drawn by Sidney Stone and constructed in front of the house on York Street, which his wife had inherited and in which she had lived all her life. [111] The design was in the style that Davis had proposed and resembled the Prichard house on Hillhouse Avenue (now occupied by the Provost of Yale).

In 1866, on the completion of the building, Jocelyn became the man in charge of the Yale Art School. For the rest of his life, he had his studio there. He kept painting and teaching almost to the time of his death in 1881. If there was such a thing as being in a state of God's grace, the blessing was surely his! New Haven was, indeed, for Jocelyn the capital of a utopian world. His inability to make headway as a portrait painter while in Savannah was an ordeal long over. It no longer mattered that Finley Morse was the better artist in oils.

NOTES

1. Augustus Russell Street (1791-1866), Yale class of 1812. See *Dictionary of American Biography.*

2. Foster Wild Rice, *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin,* volume 31, number 4, p. 106. (Rice, who was Jocelyn's great-grandson, had planned to write a biography of the painter.) In the chapter "History of Yale Art School" in *Art and Artists in Connecticut,* H.W. French writes, "Mr. Street confessed that Jocelyn gave him the idea for an art gallery." To whom Street confessed is not mentioned. The book was written in 1877, when Jocelyn was still alive.

3. Foster Wild Rice, "Antecedents of the American Bank Note Company of 1808," page 10.

4. Professor Clifford Chieffo of Georgetown University has made a study of Jocelyn's technique and the diary pages.

5. Jocelyn diary, January 31, 1821. (Hereafter cited as Diary.) It is still in the collection of the Connecticut Historical Society.

6. Now hung in the Common Room of Silliman College at Yale.

7. Noah Webster diary entry of April 1, 1798. See John S. Morgan, *Noah Webster,* p. 143.

8. Diary, January 31, 1821.

9. Unpublished diary of Alexander Jackson Davis, New York Public Library; entries of trips to New Haven, 1827-29, indicate Jocelyn was already a member of Hillhouse's social circle.

10. Nathaniel Jocelyn changed the spelling when he formed the N. & S.S. Jocelyn engraving firm in 1818.

11. Letter of Eli Whitney to George Fairman, New Haven, November 11, 1813. Connecticut Historical Society.

12. Letter of Eli Whitney to Abraham Brewster, New Haven, 1815. Connecticut Historical Society.

13. Simeon Jocelin, Last Will and Testament, New Haven Probate Court Records, 1823.

14. Silliman Papers, in Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

15. Diary, January 31, 1821.

16. Foster Wild Rice, notebooks and supportive source material at the Connecticut Historical Society. (Hereafter cited as FWR.)

17. CHS *Bulletin,* p. 122.

18. The model was erected in 1819. Town received his first patent on January 28, 1820.

19. The Farmington Canal company records are now privately owned.

20. Charles Tabb Hazelrigg, *James A. Hillhouse,* chapter 5.

21. Only the men seemed to attend the literary teas. The women organized their own reading and sewing groups.

22. Papers of Samuel Finley Breese Morse (1791-1872), to which have been added other Morse family items, in the Library of Congress. (Hereafter cited as Morse papers.)

23. Morse papers.

24. FWR, "The Jocelyn Engravers," in *Essay Proof Journal,* issues of July and October 1948.

25. Carleton Mabee, *The American Leonardo: A Life of Samuel F.B. Morse* (Knopf, 1943).

26. Diary, January 31, 1821. Jocelyn includes in the "ten years" the five from 1815 to 1820, when he wanted to do nothing but paint portraits and was forced by circumstances to concentrate on engraving.

27. Morse papers.

28. Hazelrigg, op. cit.

29. Jedidiah Morse had been publishing maps with his geographies. He taught his two younger sons cartography.

30. This is indicated in the Morse papers and in such details in the Jocelyn diary as Morse loaning Jocelyn a black-and-white oil painting to take with him to Savannah for study purposes.

31. Letter of Nathaniel Jocelyn to John Trumbull, January 28, 1820, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

32. Collection of CHS.

33. Ibid.

34. On display at the Yale University Art Gallery.

35. Addison Gallery of Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.

36. Silliman Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

37. Mabee, op. cit.

38. *Connecticut Herald.*

39. Diary.

40. Analysis of the diary; copy given to the author.

41. Mabee, op. cit.

42. CHS *Bulletin.*

43. *Savannah,* published by Historic Savannah Foundation, Inc.

44. Diary, May 19, 1822. Jocelyn went aboard the *Savannah.*

45. The *Adeline* is the only ship listed in the appropriate November issues of the *Connecticut Herald* as departing for Savannah.

46. Peter Malia, ''S. S. Jocelyn and the New Haven Negro College of 1831,'' manuscript.

47. Published in London in 1745, reprinted in America.

48. Diary; Coppee identification by Gordon B. Smith.

49. Diary, January 28, 1821.

50. FWR.

51. FWR. Jocelyn's writing is so hurried that what looks like a ''1'' could easily have been meant as a ''4'' or ''7.'' The subject was Elizur Goodrich Smith.

52. Jocelyn planned to see Sully in the summer of 1822 on his stopover in Philadelphia. His diary tells that he had a letter of introduction from the Reverend John Mason. In 1839, when Sully's three-quarter-length portrait of Queen Victoria was on tour, it was exhibited for four days in Jocelyn's New Haven studio. The price advertised to see it was twenty-five cents.

53. Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

54. Diary. It appears that he was bartering for his passage back to New Haven.

55. Identification by Savannah historian Gordon B. Smith. During this period, banks issued their own banknotes.

56. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

57. Ibid.

58. Then the noonday meal.

59. Gordon B. Smith identification.

60. Diary, February 21, 1821.

61. Ibid.

62. *Dictionary of American Biography.*

63. Capers's autobiography.

64. Diary.

65. Diary, February 1, 1821.

66. Ibid.

67. In the *Daily Georgian.*

68. Gordon B. Smith identification. Loyal Scranton (1799-1854) was a well-known merchant.

69. In 1819 Simeon ''Smith'' Jocelyn and A.B. Goldsmith published a booklet, ''The First Principles of Religion.''

70. Joseph Stone identification with the help of Gordon B. Smith. The newspaper was probably the *Connecticut Herald.*

71. Gordon B. Smith identification. Mary A. Stone was the wife of the prominent merchant.

72. Delia Forman Bryan had been a widow for nine years. Joseph Bryan had been a plantation owner and a United States Representative. Gordon B. Smith identification.

73. Diary, February 5, 1822.

74. Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists in America,* 1564-1860 (New-York Historical Society). Both the brothers, Joseph and Nathan, are listed as itinerant painters working in the South, where they went together in 1820. Jocelyn gives no initial—he appears to have known but one.

75. C. Schroeder, a native of New York; see Groce and Wallace.

76. The Reverend Lowell Mason and his wife, to whose home Jocelyn removed on December 31, 1821. He was a famous hymnist; in 1827 he was a co-organizer of the First Presbyterian Church of Savannah. Gordon B. Smith identification.

77. Northerners had heard of laws passed in the South prohibiting whites from teaching blacks how to read. This was shocking to someone with Jocelyn's beliefs, who considered the prime reason for learning how to read must be to learn more about the Bible and, thus, to find out how to be saved.

78. Diary, January 3 and 4, 1822. Swearing was taking the name of the Lord in vain and thus a violation of the Ten Commandments. To Jocelyn it was almost as perilous a course as committing adultery.

79. Charles McIntire, a dry-goods merchant. Bishop Capers refers to him as a minister, but he probably was never ordained and he never served as a full-time pastor.

80. Gordon B. Smith identification.

81. June 12, 1822.

82. Ibid.

83. FWR. Jocelyn had prepared an engraving for a page of coin illustrations for the Rees work which was never used. Hezekiah Howe was the New Haven outlet for sales of the *Cyclopaedia.* New Haven subscribers were Nathaniel Bacon, Jr.; Calliopian Society of Yale; Henry R. Pinchon; and Nathan Smith, M.D.

84. FWR. Printed on the occasion of the opening of a branch office of N. & S.S. Jocelyn at 36 Wall Street, New York City.

85. FWR. ''The Jocelyn Engravers.'' Smith Jocelyn had more formal education than Nathaniel, having attended preparatory school in New York City.

86. At the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C.

87. Copies of these maps are in the Map Room, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

88. Morse papers, Library of Congress.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Mabee, op. cit.

92. Diary.

93. National Academy of Design.

94. Dr. Eli Ives (1778-1861), a founder of the Yale Medical School. This portrait, gift to Yale by the Medical School class of 1827, is on display there.

95. Morse papers and the records of the Academy. ''Artist'' was the lowest rank of member.

96. In 1839, when he employed it in painting the portrait of his dead son, his daughters described it in their diaries as ''a reflecting instrument.'' The diaries are the property of CHS.

97. Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

98. Not until 1862 would Jocelyn be successful in his anti-forgery effort. He sold the American government a patent for green ink to be used in printing banknotes; for this he received $1,500. FWR, ''Jocelyn Engravers.''

99. FWR.

100. In 1844, shortly before his death, Ithiel Town had most of his library auctioned. The list of the books was printed, a copy of which is at Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

101. Terra Gallery of Art, Evanston, Ill.

102. Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

103. FWR.

104. Malia, op. cit. *Religious Intelligencer,* October 1, 1831.

105. CHS Bulletin, pp. 101-3, provides a digest of Purvis commissions.

106. FWR.

107. Ithiel Town's junior partner.

108. Diaries of the Jocelyn daughters, at CHS.

109. Ibid.

110. FWR. ''Antecedents of the American Bank Note Company.''

111. The old house was moved to another spot.

Bernard Heinz, *a resident of Guilford, is a writer on historical subjects.*

Tax-Free Life Income Plan Will Benefit Society

A Pooled Income Fund has been established by a local bank, serving as a receptacle for deferred gifts to the New Haven Foundation. Donors contemplating a bequest to the New Haven Foundation for whatever purposes are encouraged to consider instead a capital gift to this Fund, which will yield income to the donor for his or her lifetime before reverting to the Foundation.

A long-time friend of the New Haven Colony Historical Society recently furnished generous future support for the Society in this way, transferring capital to the Pooled Income Fund for the eventual benefit of the Society via the New Haven Foundation. He, meanwhile, enjoys the income, while taking advantage of special tax benefits under current IRS regulations.

These benefits can be explained to anyone interested in helping the Society with a future gift of endowment, by myself or Board members Charles Kingsley and Henry H. Townshend, Jr.

Mrs. Frank C. Hepler
Chairman, Development Committee

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